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EVENTS OF THE WEEK

THE House of Commons took a step of the first importance when it ratified, on Monday, the signature of Great Britain to the Optional Clause in the Statute of the International Court. The general effect of this signature is, of course, to bind us to submit to the jurisdiction of the Court all justiciable disputes which may arise between us and any other country which has signed the Optional Clause. The signatures of Britain and the Dominions have, however, been made subject to a declaration which excludes from that jurisdiction three categories of disputes: (1) Those in regard to which the parties to the dispute have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement; (2) disputes between different members of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and (3) disputes which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the British Courts. The British Governments have also reserved the right to require that proceedings in the Court shall be suspended, for not more than twelve months, in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to the Council of the League of Nations. This last is by far the most substantial reservation, and it should do much to satisfy those who fear that the Court will be asked to deal with a number of questions which are more suitable for settlement by conciliation.

* * *

Our acceptance of the Optional Clause is not likely to result in any sudden increase in the business of the International Court—we have generally been ready

to submit our disputes to that tribunal—its significance lies in the contribution which it makes to the reign of law in the world. Hitherto we have said as a nation, “You may rest assured that we shall behave ourselves and do what we think right, but we must be trusted to do what is best in each case when it arises.” By the step which has now been taken we commit ourselves beforehand to submit legal disputes to a particular Court, we abandon the claim to be judges in our own cause, we extend the area of impartial justice. To do this is to make a contribution towards the future peace of the world which may prove to be as far-reaching in its way as Locarno or the Kellogg Pact, and it is significant that, although the Conservative amendment was concerned solely with safeguarding “the freedom of action of the British Navy,” even Conservative speakers could not refrain from discussing the wider aspects of the matter and lamenting our loss of independence.

* * *

The debate certainly provoked a fairly exhaustive discussion upon the question of belligerent rights at sea, and whether they would be adversely affected by voluntary submission to the jurisdiction of an international tribunal, yet some very important points were hardly touched upon. In the first place, the signing of the clause does not interfere with the British Government's right to issue Orders in Council for the conduct of war at sea, nor does it suppress Prize Court jurisdiction. All the old procedure of condemning in prize remains; and it does not seem as though the jurisdiction of the judicial committee of the Privy

Council is abolished. The signing of the clause only binds us to accept a final appeal to an international court. The United States Government are entirely unaffected, for if they should be at issue with us about the legality of Orders in Council, or the propriety of Prize Court judgments, their method of obtaining redress will be that which they have always used—diplomatic action.

* * *

So far as prize cases are concerned, therefore, the International Court becomes a final Court of Appeal between Members of the League. Does this really involve any serious risk? There are two considerations which suggest that it does not. In the first place, it is clear that if the Covenant is violated no Member-State can claim the old conception of neutral rights in trading with the aggressor. In the second place, if we assume the possibility of a war which has slipped through "the gap in the Covenant," it is clear that disputes on legal points such as arose in past wars are likely to be of minor importance. In the exercise of economic pressure to-day questions about the definition of contraband and continuous voyage play a much smaller part than questions relating to black lists and restrictive agreements entered into between belligerent and neutral States. It is an open question whether this new method of restricting commerce can be regarded as an exercise of sovereign rights, or whether it is derived from the older rules of international law. Such questions are more suitable for determination by the Council than by the Court, and as new rules of international law are built up the Court will be fully qualified to administer them. We conclude, then, that the danger to "the freedom of action of the British Navy" is not great, but, in any case, we should hold it far more important to reduce the chance of war than to promote our efficiency in the event of war.

* * *

A notable feature of the debate was a maiden speech by Mr. Norman Angell, which made a great impression on all who heard it. Unfortunately, Mr. Angell rose at five minutes to six, and the Liberals had a party meeting at six o'clock and had to leave the Chamber. They thus heard only the beginning of the speech, and were obliged to go before Mr. Angell had even had time to adjust the pitch of his voice to the acoustics of the House. No doubt they will have many other opportunities of hearing this distinguished new member, but a word of explanation may not be out of place. Those members who were able to remain certainly enjoyed an incisive statement of the fundamental case for the new order in international affairs.

* * *

The present position of the Coal Mines Bill, upon which, on the eve of the adjournment, the Government so nearly came to grief, is a little more encouraging. The exaggerated animosity which Mr. MacDonald, in his speeches outside Parliament, displays towards Mr. Lloyd George has been balanced by a series of helpful and conciliatory gestures from Mr. William Graham, the Minister in charge of the Bill. At the end of last week Mr. Graham tabled amendments which, it is understood, go far towards meeting the specific criticisms of the Bill put forward on second reading by Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Herbert Samuel. A committee of the Liberal Parliamentary Party has also been engaged during Recess in the preparation of a comprehensive series of amendments, and Mr. Graham and his officials have met this committee with a view to the reduction to a minimum of possible

causes of friction before the Committee stage begins. Finally, Mr. Graham showed the same conciliatory attitude when the Financial Resolution, which precedes the Committee stage of the Bill, came up for discussion on Monday. In response to criticisms made by both Opposition parties, he undertook to amend, if necessary, the terms of the Resolution, so as to bring within its scope such amendments to the Bill as either party might desire to put forward.

* * *

In the meantime, the amendments put down by Mr. Graham are being anxiously scrutinized. They are far-reaching in character. In the first place, the operation of Part I. of the Act (which deals with production and marketing schemes) and of Part II. (which reduces the working day by half an hour) is postponed—the former to an indefinite date which the Board of Trade will determine, the latter to a date four months later than that of the passing of the Act. This will probably mean a postponement of about three months. Secondly, the "committees of investigation," to be set up in connection with the marketing schemes, are given power, in the last resort, to refer disagreements to an independent arbitrator to be appointed by the Board of Trade. This amendment strengthens the position of the consumer at the price of a somewhat cumbersome extension of the bureaucratic machine. Thirdly, the operation of the marketing schemes—or, at any rate, of the statutory sanctions accorded to them—is to terminate at the end of 1933. And finally, a "Coal Mines Reorganizing Commission" is to be set up, the duty of which will be "to further the reorganization of the coalmining industry," and, for that purpose, "to promote and assist, by the preparation of schemes and otherwise, the amalgamation of undertakings." This proposed clause, while leaving a good deal undefined, goes more than half-way towards meeting the most substantial of the Liberal criticisms to the Bill. But whether it can be satisfactorily incorporated in a measure which still embodies the objectionable marketing schemes remains to be seen.

* * *

Among the Government Bills promised this session is one to deal with housing and, in particular, with slum clearance. It is not yet known what proposals the Minister of Health has in mind in regard to the slum clearance aspect of housing which has scarcely been affected by the large municipal estates erected since the war. Mr. E. D. Simon and Miss Eleanor Rathbone have drawn attention in the *Times* to certain fundamental aspects of this problem. They compute that at least 2,000,000 children are now being brought up in slum conditions, and they argue that the aim of slum clearance should be directed towards re-housing elsewhere this child population at rents which tenants can afford to pay. In their view such an aim can only be achieved if the new rents are kept below 11s. a week by means of a subsidy which allows a rebate of 1s. to 2s. per child per week to poor tenants who earn below £2 or £3 a week. Mr. Simon and Miss Rathbone contend that unless the owners of slum families are encouraged to rehouse their families outside the central districts by some such means as an allowance on account of children, the result of a new onslaught on the slums is likely to create other overcrowded districts in the centre of towns where rents as cheap as those previously paid can be obtained. To the astonishing statement by the *Times* that satisfactory family houses may soon be obtainable at an economic rent of 6s. they reply that the National Housing and Town Planning Council has

recently come to the conclusion that the lowest economic rent of a satisfactory family house is not 6s. but about 14s.

* * *

Very little has transpired, down to the time of writing, as to the proceedings of the Naval Conference. There have been many semi-sensational rumours, all instantly denied; but all that is known for certain is that the delegates have been engaged in informal discussions of the actual agenda—the order in which the problems before the Conference are to be taken. Shall the battleship question be disposed of before cruisers are discussed? Shall a total tonnage be fixed for each of the Five Powers before the Conference proceeds to decide on the problem of its allocation among the various categories? Questions of this kind are under discussion, and, in discussing them, it has been possible to explore, to some extent, the possibilities of compromise between conflicting methods of limitation. Some progress seems to have been made, for a Plenary Session has been called for January 30th—too late for comment in these columns—at which a Committee will be appointed for the purpose of framing a definite agenda. Some impatience has been expressed in all countries with the slow progress of these preliminaries, and it reflects, undoubtedly, the complexity and difficulty of the task before the Conference; but this laborious laying of the foundations has its merits. It avoids, at least, the mistake committed at Geneva in 1927, when each delegation found itself formally and publicly committed to a hard-and-fast thesis before having even an opportunity to consider the point of view of the other countries represented.

* * *

Two events in connection with the Conference have some significance. In the first place, the British Admiralty have definitely cancelled from their programme the two 10,000-ton cruisers "Surrey" and "Northumberland," shown as "authorized but not ordered" in the Return of Fleets. This reduces the total built and building in this class to fifteen, the number proposed for the British Empire in the Anglo-American conversations. It does not affect the actual present strength of the Navy, but it does show that our building policy is being brought into line with the conversations and with Mr. Alexander's recent statement, and that there is no desire to use as bargaining counters "authorized" vessels that would raise our fleet beyond this strength. The second event was the issue of a broadcast statement by Mr. Stimson, in which, when defining the aims of the American delegation, he said: "We want to reduce the battleship programmes below the programmes which were provided in the Washington Treaty. . . . For us the chief hope of economy would lie in the reduction of the battleship programme." That is much more definite than any previous statement of the American position on the battleship programme, and the whole tone of the passage implied that Mr. Stimson had in mind not merely reduction, but substantial reduction—whether by reducing numbers, or reducing size of units, or postponing all replacements to a Greek Kalends, he did not say.

* * *

The Marquis de Estella has resigned his office as Prime Minister of Spain. Whether the passing of the Dictator involves also the passing of the dictatorship remains to be seen. The manner of his resignation was truly characteristic. For months past, he has issued bantering reports about the rumours of disaffection in the Army and Navy, and has assured the people that

they related only to the activities of a small disgruntled clique. Lately, he has become aware that this disaffection was strong enough to block his projects for a new Constitution, and he thereupon came to a sudden and extraordinary decision. The Captains-General of every military and naval district were ordered to sound their commands as to whether the present Government possessed the confidence of the Army and Navy. Should their reports be unfavourable, the Marquis would accept the decision as the voice of the people, and would resign "in five minutes." How many reports, and of what nature, were actually received is unknown; but it appears that the Cabinet and King Alfonso were seriously alarmed by this extraordinary procedure. On January 28th the Marquis handed in his resignation, on a plea of ill-health, and the King at once sent for General Berenguer to form a new Cabinet.

* * *

Lord Irwin has replied in the Indian Legislative Assembly both to misrepresentations of the statement he made in October last and to the challenge of Lahore. He declared that his earlier statement "carried the full authority of His Majesty's Government," in its insistence on Dominion status as "the goal to which British policy in regard to India was directed"; its emphasis on the necessity of adjusting relations with the Indian States; and its announcement of the Round Table Conference. He went on to deplore the decision of the Congress Party to abstain from participation in the Conference; but stated that every possible step would be taken to secure adequate representation of every race, every religion, and every shade of political opinion in India. At the same time, he warned the Legislature that the goal of Dominion status could not be attained by a stroke of the pen. Even before the Conference could meet, time must be given for the study and consideration of the Simon Report, both in India and in Great Britain; and when it met, full discussion of many and complex problems would be necessary before His Majesty's Government could set about the actual drafting of legislation. Meanwhile, the Government of India would not be influenced by threats of civil disobedience or by crimes of violence.

* * *

Hatry and his associates have been found guilty and severely—but not, we think, too severely—sentenced. In September last we called attention to some of the questions of public and business policy which arise out of the Hatry case, and we have little now to add. Some of the joint stock banks have sustained heavy losses and received a severe shock. It may be assumed that, for a time at least, they will not be eager to give exceptional support to men of doubtful reputation, merely because they are known to be operating on a big scale. It is certainly not in the public interest that they should do so, and they are the custodians of extremely important public interests. Similarly, the city of Wakefield has had an experience which should be a warning to all municipal authorities, but we hope that it may lead to an overdue reform. The time has come when the scope of the Local Loans Fund should be enlarged to cover all borrowing by public authorities, as was suggested, as part of a wider scheme, in the Liberal "Yellow Book." There is an unfortunate tendency in some quarters to dwell on the picturesque details of an immense gamble, and almost to idealize the gambler. It would be more profitable to remember the squalid side of fraud, and to draw from a wretched episode what lessons we can find for the better conduct of business in future.

AN ECONOMIC COUNCIL

AN important addition has been made to the machinery of government by the creation of an Economic Advisory Council, and if the new machine is used to full capacity the results may be far-reaching and beneficent. Liberals should be especially interested in this development, because the idea upon which it is based originated with them. Not that this detracts in the smallest degree from the credit due to the present Government, and the Prime Minister in particular, for carrying out the idea; it is one thing to envisage the need for a new organ of government and another thing to create it; while the most important and difficult task of all is, of course, to make it work.

It is as a matter of interest therefore, and not of vainglory, that we recall the genesis of this Economic Council. In December, 1923, and January, 1924, just before the first Labour Government took office, we published in *THE NATION* two articles by Sir William Beveridge on "An Economic General Staff." It was in these, we believe, that the idea was first put forward. "Modern Governments," argued Sir William Beveridge, "are faced by problems in the field of economic science as technical as those raised by war in the field of military or naval science. These economic problems are hardly less important than the military ones, and they are more continuously with us. Yet we have no organ for their systematic study. We have no thinking machine in economic affairs to correspond to the General Staff in war." To illustrate his point Sir William took, in 1923, two problems which are equally apposite to-day: that of post-war unemployment and that of Imperial Preference. In a cogent argument he showed how both these questions "cover the work of several Departments of State, both raise purely technical questions of a very difficult kind, both call for continuous concentrated study such as cannot be given by Ministers or officials engaged in administrative tasks." Neither problem, he added, could in any way be settled by economic experts. His point was that we had no regular means of securing that, in questions of the first importance and difficulty, the economic balance would be fairly and authoritatively put before the Government of the day, which would have to decide. His remedy was the creation of "a general intelligence division for economic problems—a staff of experts not engaged in administration and not attached to any one Department"; in short, an Economic General Staff. It was possible, he remarked in passing, that we ought also to set up a standing Economic Committee, on the analogy of the Committee of Imperial Defence, but this was a question which he left in suspense.

Sir William Beveridge's suggestion was adopted and worked out in greater detail by the authors of the Liberal "Yellow Book," who proposed not only an Economic General Staff, but also a Committee of Economic Policy, consisting of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Ministers of Labour, Health, and Agriculture, with the help of outside advisers. Developed in this way, the proposal bears a very strong likeness to the scheme which has now been

adopted by the Government and outlined in the White Paper issued this week. It is necessary, however, to look very closely at the actual scheme, for much may depend upon its detailed provisions.

The Economic Advisory Council will, we are told, take over and expand the functions of the Committee of Civil Research and be a standing body reporting to the Cabinet. Its Chairman will be the Prime Minister, and the other members will be the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord Privy Seal (while the present duties are attached to that office), the President of the Board of Trade, the Minister of Agriculture, such other Ministers as the Prime Minister may from time to time summon, and other persons chosen by the Prime Minister in virtue of their special knowledge and experience in industry and economics. Its purpose is defined as follows:—

"To advise His Majesty's Government in economic matters. To make continuous study of developments in trade and industry and in the use of national and imperial resources, of the effect of legislation and fiscal policy at home and abroad, and of all aspects of national, imperial, and international economy with a bearing on the prosperity of the country."

The Council is to keep in close touch with the Departments affected by its work, with a view to the concerted study of economic problems of national interest, but it will interfere in no way with the functions or responsibilities of Ministers or of the Departments over which they preside, and it will have no administrative or executive powers. Its reports and work will be confidential unless the Council advises the Prime Minister otherwise.

This, then, on the analogy drawn by Sir William Beveridge, is the Economic Committee of Imperial Defence. All the emphasis is thrown in the White Paper on the Council, and there is no mention of an Economic General Staff beyond the bare statement that:—

"The Council will have a secretary and assistant secretaries, at least two of whom will be economists, together with such staff as may be found necessary."

There is, however, a footnote stating that Mr. Thomas Jones, C.H., Deputy Secretary of the Cabinet, has been appointed Secretary to the Council; and it is understood that Mr. H. D. Henderson, who recently resigned the Editorship of *THE NATION*, is to be one of the two economists mentioned. The weight and importance of any office depends to a very great extent upon the personality of him who first holds it, and no one who knows Mr. Jones and Mr. Henderson will doubt that they are extraordinarily well equipped for the work before them. Some may find poetic justice or dramatic propriety in Mr. Henderson's appointment, in view of the parts which this journal and the Liberal Industrial Inquiry (in which he participated) have played in promoting the idea of an Economic Council. We should like, however, to take this opportunity of putting it on record that Mr. Henderson had determined to retire from *THE NATION*, in order to return to academic life, before he had any idea that an Economic Council was in contemplation, and he was only induced to change his plans by a call to public service which could not be resisted. What opportunity

will be afforded to him and his colleagues remains to be seen. A trenchant passage in the Liberal "Yellow Book" runs as follows:—

"There is no Government and no party which will not be prepared to support this idea of an Economic General Staff as soon as the notion has caught on as a word and a phrase. The difference will lie between the type of Government which will be ready to make it a reality and the type which will not. Those who believe in an Economic General Staff as a reality of high importance will have their work cut out to prevent it from becoming an academic body drafting endless memoranda, probably excellent memoranda, which nobody reads."

There lies the danger; but we hope and believe that it is realized and will be avoided. It is well, perhaps, that the Economic Staff should take the modest form of a Secretary and Assistant Secretaries to the Economic Council, as this should save them from working in a vacuum. But the best safeguard against futility lies in the fact that the Secretary is a man of great sagacity and wide experience who has already served as the trusted adviser of successive Cabinets and can therefore take up any question with the assurance that the Prime Minister and his colleagues will at least listen seriously to what he says.

There are always difficulties and risks in starting a new machine, but if, in the present case, the difficulties are overcome and the risks are avoided, what great possibilities are opened up! We recalled last week the complacent, irresponsible, semi-conscious state in which our rulers blundered back on to the Gold Standard without counting or preparing to pay any part of the cost of that sacrifice to Moloch, when every economist knew, and some at least forcibly pointed out what it involved. If the Economic Council, with its staff, had then been in existence, it is certain at any rate that not only Mr. Churchill but also Mr. Baldwin would have had to face up beforehand to the significance of what was being done. That, perhaps, is an extreme instance which will not be reproduced, but there are many others of a recurring type. Again and again opportunities have been missed to mitigate the great and stubborn curse of unemployment because it was the job of no one who knew to co-ordinate the efforts of various Government Departments. To nobody, probably, has this been more exasperating and heart-breaking than to the able economic advisers of the Departments concerned; and we venture to say that the formation of an Economic Council, with a staff whose business it is to consult with them, will be heartily welcomed by those Departmental economists. It seems indeed, now that the step has at last been taken, almost incredible that we can have muddled along all these years, in which economic questions have preoccupied Governments and Parliaments, without a body of expert economists to "make continuous study of developments in trade and industry and in the use of national and imperial resources." Mr. MacDonald has done well to create a much-needed instrument. We hope he will use it.

THE CHICHESTER MEMORANDUM

I.

THERE can be no doubt that there is widespread concern as to the future control of elementary and post-primary schools, even though care is everywhere being taken to restrain the expression of religious passions. The matter is brought to a head by the determination of Sir Charles Trevelyan to raise the school age and to enforce the Hadow Report recommendations in regard to post-primary schools for children over eleven. Many of the problems involving controversial religious questions are, however, not new problems. It has long been known that the vast majority of "black-listed" elementary schools—into the condition of which Sir Charles Trevelyan had a special inquiry made during his previous period of office—are Church of England schools, and that, without State aid, these schools cannot raise the money to carry out the necessary repairs to make their buildings up to date. In order to obtain an understanding of the complex situation which has now arisen it is necessary to be clear as to the distinction between "provided" and "non-provided" schools.

These two names are misleading since they refer to historical associations in the elementary school system rather than to the present financial position of the schools. The difference between a "provided" school and a "non-provided" school is no longer so much a difference in the provision of public money for elementary schools as in the management of the schools. In return for two seats out of six on the managing committees and for the right of inspectorship, the State and the local authority contribute towards all expenditure except expenditure upon buildings in the case of denominationally controlled "non-provided" schools. In the case of "provided" schools, the State contributes in addition towards the expenditure on buildings. In the "non-provided" school denominational religious teaching is permitted, and the rights of parents are protected by a conscience clause. In the "provided" school it is assumed that the basis of English education is dependent upon Christian ethics; and the teaching of Christian knowledge is therefore permitted according to a direction by Parliament which forbids the teaching of "religious catechism or religious formulæ distinctive of any particular denomination."

If, for a moment, we ignore traditional sentiment, we can assess the position of the "non-provided" elementary school in its present cold, administrative aspect. The special privileges which are claimed for the purpose of religious teaching are a concession made chiefly to the Church of England, in respect of her ownership of certain school buildings, and on the assumption that she can maintain these buildings up to the standard of the requirements of the time. "The Church of England," Bishop Frodsham has stated recently in the *Times*, "was the pioneer of primary education." This is not altogether true, but it is significant. The Church of England was one of the pioneers in elementary education, and on account of this tradition it has established a key position by the ownership of school buildings without which the elementary school system could not have come into existence. A few weeks ago, Sir Robert Blair blandly summed the situation up by saying that many Churchmen "regard their trust deeds as sacred obligations which they must discharge, while others feel that the atmosphere of Church Schools is of great value in the national system and should be maintained" (the italics are mine). It is becoming more and more obvious.

that the Church Schools continue rather on account of the power of Church organization than on account of the wish of parents; though this is not so true of Roman Catholic schools. The points in this article are confined to Church Schools.

The difficulty of the problem now raised is accentuated by the high proportion of backward "non-provided" schools to "provided" schools, in certain districts, chiefly rural areas, and from the consideration that the redistribution of children of eleven in post-primary schools deprives the denominational schools of a number of years in which they had hoped to continue to influence their pupils by religious training.

The two main questions which are engaging the attention of those who wish to maintain denominational control of elementary schools are:—

- (1) What is to be the future of the black-listed elementary schools now controlled principally by the Church of England?
- (2) Are the Churches to possess any control over the "post-primary" schools (11+) to be set up under the Hadow Report?

At the moment the policy of Sir Charles Trevelyan is to encourage the various Churches to arrive at some agreement among themselves which is also acceptable to him, and to test the ground for local agreement between the Church and local educational authorities. But it must be clear to all that the new educational reforms will take some time to materialize, and that a switch back from Sir Charles Trevelyan to Lord Eustace Percy might create a vital change in the type of agreement which would be acceptable to the Board of Education.

II.

The declarations of Bishops in regard to educational policy are not usually characterized by their clarity. In the present crisis, therefore, the memorandum which the Bishop of Chichester has prepared for use in his own diocese blows like a strong wind over an unhealthy marsh-land of compromise and ulterior motive. The document is modestly prefaced: "I cannot help believing," writes the Bishop, "that it is really important that we should think out what our diocesan policy should be, and should quite definitely state it for the information of Church people, Church School managers, and the different local authorities."

There is no attempt at humbug or evasion in the Bishop's statement of his premise. He does not try to use concessions in regard to the control of post-primary schools as a platform for bargaining over concessions in elementary schools or *vice versa*. He is careful to keep the two problems separate so far as is possible. He is frank in his description of the condition of Church schools: "all but six" in his diocese "were built before the school leaving age was raised to eleven. . . . We must remember that the standard of staffing and accommodation was much less exacting in those days than is now demanded. . . . I wish that all clergy connected with the Church schools took that vital interest in those schools and the religious instruction given in them which some do."

"I cannot see," confesses the Bishop, when discussing the basis of co-operation between the Churches and the local authorities, "how the Church can do the business of building new senior schools on any large scale or make extensive building additions to its schools with a view to converting them into senior schools. . . . It is thought possible by some that a Bill might be passed by Parliament allowing building grants to non-provided schools either by the State or through the local education authority. But no sign is

forthcoming that such action is contemplated." In this manner he removes a great many obstacles in the way of straightforward and public negotiation.

He has three constructive proposals for co-operation between the Church and the local authorities which can be abbreviated as follows:—

- (1) That the L.E.A. should build new schools.
- (2) That the Church schools which are now up to date should retain their place in the whole system.
- (3) That where money is not forthcoming for repairs and rebuilding the Church should "lease" its school for a period to the L.E.A. on condition that its use should be retained for parochial purposes on certain days and at certain hours.

These proposals are accompanied—as is only natural—by certain conditions in regard to the continuance of religious instruction. These he divides into two sections indicating that he would be satisfied if only the first section were granted. In this first section he asks for a "liberal interpretation" of the Anson by-law, by which children attending the new schools would be permitted to continue their religious instruction either in the retained junior Church school or in buildings near by their schools, and requests that on some mornings in the week special allowance out of school time should be given to the children who attend these instructional classes and services.

III.

Apart from their frankness, these proposals differ from those in the Majority Report of the Commission on Religious Education, appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in two ways. Neither the Bishop nor the Majority Report demands that the State should finance the Churches in building the new schools; but it is clear that the Majority does not wish to close the door on such a course being adopted. The drafters of this Report (to be presented to the Church Assembly next week) being "strongly of the opinion" that the Church schools "represent a valuable element in English educational tradition," "desire this element preserved and strengthened, . . ." and "propose an alteration in the law enabling the Board of Education to make *special grants*" (italics are mine) "through and with the concurrence of Local Educational Authorities to the managers of those schools which are falling into disrepair or which are not sufficiently large or well equipped to continue to play the part allotted to them by the Local Educational Authorities in the district." It will be seen that these proposals, quite deliberately, do not preclude the State financing of Church Central schools, and that in regard to the repair of elementary schools the suggestion of a "grant" is very different from the Bishop of Chichester's suggestion of "leasing." The Majority Report advocates an aggressive policy which aims at obtaining further State aid (without relinquishing any Church control) for elementary schools which the Church cannot now support, and at securing, if the President of the Board of Education is favourable, Church control and State funds for building new Church Central schools.

There now only remains the need to summarize and discuss the further concessions for which the Bishop of Chichester asks. In these he is nearer to the proposals of the Majority Report. He requests rather more definite undertakings on the part of local educational authorities in regard to the standard of religious teaching and the qualification of religious teachers. The Bishop does not make any positive suggestions in regard to the imposition of tests for teachers. Nevertheless, it is difficult, even on the model of the Kent County Council declaration, to envisage a further tightening up of religious qualifications without

submitting teachers to further tests. A special meeting of the National Union of Teachers was keenly alive to the danger that such tests might come into existence as the result of the influence which the Archbishop's Commission might have on a sympathetic President of the Board of Education, such as Lord Eustace Percy. Its opposition to any further religious tests of any sort for teachers was very nearly unanimous.

R. G. RANDALL.

LORD ESHER: A PERSONAL IMPRESSION

DE MORTUIS. . . That rule should certainly guide this present scribe in writing of Viscount Esher. For that strangely unaccountable man—so approachable yet so impenetrable; with his fingers in half the pies of Europe; founder of the Committee of Imperial Defence; custodian of the private papers of Queen Victoria; the intimate of King Edward; go-between of King to Ministers, of King to King—took, in the midst of all these activities, enormous pains some twenty years ago to help an obscure journalist in the promotion of ideas which ran counter to very much for which Esher heretofore had stood, and by those pains certainly helped to give those ideas a start and some currency in the political discussion of the time.

Perhaps the story had better go into the first person.

My earlier experience in challenging some of the accepted notions of my generation was, I suppose, one common enough to writers who do that kind of thing: nobody took any notice, and nothing happened. Yet, like the beaver who goes on building his dam, even when you put him in a hut in the back garden, I went on with the questioning, and the books that did not sell. I had written one, the central idea of which (*i.e.*, that a nation could not really turn victory to economic account) I knew was worth discussing. What I did not know was whether the public would see that it was worth discussing. No publisher would look at it for a moment. I published it at my own expense, and for months no reviewer had deigned to notice it by so much as a ten-line paragraph. And then one day I got a letter signed "Esher." The name meant nothing in particular. The letter said things which I had secretly hoped were true, but which no one else had yet said: that the idea underlying the book really was a new idea, that it was important, that I ought to develop it, and much else. And the writer ended by saying that he had bought a few hundred copies of the book, and had sent them to people who mattered. After that, before the Press had noticed this little book at all, it was for many months an unusual morning in which I did not get from some politician, or military strategist, or economist, or writer on politics—German, Italian, Dutch, Russian, as well as English—a letter raising some point of the argument. And it was only then (and this is a point that should interest those whose job it is as publishers or journalists to know the public mind) that the reviewers in the Press began to interest themselves in this subject at all. Incidentally, this was not the only occasion on which I found that Press and publisher were often slower to see the interest of certain new ideas than sections of the public itself.

But Esher did not leave the matter there. When finally the public did become interested, and my poor little book had become, for the time being at least, a best-seller (I suppose that, if one includes all the various foreign editions, it has sold from first to last something in the region of a million), Esher insisted that I should give up my work in Paris and come to London. He would create a

Foundation for me; and he did. He did it during lunch at the Savoy, when the other guest was a pleasant but, I am sure, very bewildered industrialist. Esher outlined certain plans, and at coffee, casually, "Let us see . . . I think this is where you sign, Sir Richard . . ." Or at least it was in some such way that the thing took place. I should add that Sir Richard Garton, the industrialist in question, however bewildered he might have been at the beginning, became in a sense even more interested than Esher himself, and "stayed the course" in the promotion of those ideas even longer.

Sir Richard Garton could not have been more puzzled than I was. Why, in Heaven's name, should Lord Esher, of all people, the inventor of military methods, the permanent member of the Committee of Imperial Defence, the promoter of the Volunteer movement, a friend even at that time of conscription for England, take such trouble to promote what were, fundamentally, pacifist ideas? One day I asked him that question point blank. I cannot say that his answer was very clear, and I remember that he wrote me a long letter about it afterwards. But in some vague way he did see, I think, that the security of this country was dependent upon the establishment of some orderly international system. His military studies had, I think, led him to the conclusion that sooner or later we should have to modify the old situation of a single Power dominating the highways of the world, much as though Swan and Edgar should demand the right to command Piccadilly Circus because without free access to it they would be ruined. He felt that one day this would have to give place to something a little more related to the civilized organization of the nations into a community. Perhaps he foresaw the growing power of America. I think he did. It disturbed him a little that perhaps the ablest statement of the influence of sea power should have been written by an American; and he frequently used to relate my own work to Mahan's. He saw that, in a sense, the one was a development of the other.

But the chief motive of his activity in this matter was, I think, sheer intellectual interest. Esher was, of course, a dilettante, particularly a dilettante in what one might call the politics of power. He loved to play the rôle of *eminence grise*, the power behind the throne. And here were questions dealing with the source of power, its nature and limitation in the modern world of commerce and finance. Here, too, the Semitic trace in Esher came in: the inwardness of those elusive factors of finance, of international trade and credit, fascinated him. The thing made a game as interesting as any other game that he played.

Of course, the veil of the war came down between us. He had been, and remained, a part of the actual military machine; and from the moment that war came it was the military rather than the political side which interested him. He was far too intelligent, of course, really to take the view that the effort to secure a workable peace was "treasonable," or anything but a real service to one's country. But the military activity was his job; it was not mine. To hammer at the political conditions of real success, however obscurely and with whatever difficulty, was all that those of us who had concerned ourselves with internationalism could do at that time. And so, after a curious interview one day in Chelsea Barracks, of which my most vivid memory is that he wore wonderful top boots in soft suède leather, with a gorgeous uniform, we parted, and I never saw him again. The Foundation that he had done so much to establish went off into other activities.

I have run across his influence in strange quarters, and if ever some novelist like Oppenheim could burgle Esher's more private diaries, I think he might unearth

material which would make some of the wildest of the Oppenheim productions look merely commonplace.

NORMAN ANGELL.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

THE eternal unemployment problem, in the shape of a Supplementary Estimate, was the first subject to claim our attention in the New Year. Major Elliot, Mr. Buchanan, and Ernest Brown opened the attack for the three Opposition parties respectively. It was the last named who discovered, attached to the Estimate like a tin-opener to a sardine-box, the phrase "increased activity in placing men in employment," after which almost everything was in order. But even before that Mr. Buchanan, fixing the Chair with his glittering eye, like the Ancient Mariner, had succeeded in talking at some length on Housing.

Sir Oswald Mosley, in reply, suggested that his Government had really promised nothing in particular, and that their performance was already, or might reasonably be expected to become at no distant date, in excess of the promise. Mr. Buchan and Mr. Boothby followed with two of the best speeches heard from their side in this Parliament. Each of them would have spoken with more appropriateness from the Liberal benches, and each, in attacking the record of this Government, was attacking by implication with even greater force the far more prolonged failure of their own. Mr. Buchan was particularly impressive when he warned the House that the ordinary man, if continually disappointed by party leaders, "might turn to unauthorized practitioners and dangerous remedies," such as Empire Free Trade.

Later in the evening the Collecting Charities Bill made another of its furtive efforts to slip through the cracks of Parliamentary time. Ernest Brown pounced on it once again, and with the assistance of Sir Kingsley Wood gave a convincing exposure of the latest gambit of the New Despotism. Mr. Short, evidently rather ashamed of the arbitrary powers given to the Secretary of State by Clause 3, actually announced (by way of concession!) that a collector who is refused a licence may have leave to appeal to Quarter Sessions to clear his character. Verily the way of charity is becoming hard:—

"The quality of mercy is not strain'd;
(But licensed by the Secretary of State);
It droppeth as the gentle rain from Heaven
(Located for this purpose in Whitehall).
It is twice bless'd; (first time a £5 fine;
For every subsequent offence 3 months)."

The debate was talked out by Mr. Devlin—who has brought down bigger game in his day.

On Wednesday, Mr. McElwee, in a maiden speech, proposed a drastic alteration in the hours of sitting of the House. He spoke well and with the utmost assurance, and would speak even better with less. Mr. Hardie, in seconding, made the highly damaging admission that, to suit the new hours, the House and its Standing Committees might have to sit on alternate days. Obviously the whole purpose of the Standing Committee would be then sacrificed. Captain Bourne and Mr. Griffith joined in emphasizing the difficulties involved for Ministers and Committees and in deploring the prospect of a House drawing its membership exclusively from professional politicians and gentlemen of leisure.

B*

After the Postmaster-General had expressed the Government's willingness to appoint a Select Committee and his own doubts as to its utility, Sir Austen Chamberlain proceeded to flatten out the case for the resolution like a steam-roller. There is no better House of Commons man than Sir Austen; he thinks highly of the House, and speaks of it finely. And though the Committee may sit, no one now expects it to hatch any considerable egg.

On Thursday, we took the Supplementary Estimate for the Beet Sugar Subsidy. Mr. de Rothschild raised some practical questions, but the debate as a whole was rather barren. A policy established for a period of years cannot lightly be repudiated upon any fiscal theory; and no Free Trader is concerned to deny that an individual industry may benefit by the receipt of public money. Tories will doubtless dream of following the policy "like a sinking star" to the point where all industries are subsidized and live by taking in one another's washing.

The debate on Mr. Thurtle's Blasphemy Laws (Amendment) Bill, was, if it be not blasphemous to say so, very good fun. Politicians love talking about religion; just as Deans delight in denouncing doles. And here were two great principles to match against one another—freedom of discussion on the one hand and reverence for sacred things on the other. The conflict produced an intellectual problem for many members, and an emotional crisis for Mr. Lansbury. Cold analysis suggests that the passage of the Bill would neither greatly extend the bounds of freedom nor seriously endanger the peace of tender susceptibilities. For there have been few persecutions in modern times under the existing law that would not remain possible under the amendment. However, an opportunity was provided for a fine debate, with two excellent speeches on each side—Mr. Thurtle and Isaac Foot for the Bill, and Mr. Lovat Fraser and Lord Eustace Percy against. Mr. Foot revels in fundamental principles, and Lord Eustace is a beautifully polished performer.

He made a good point when he said that Parliament, which is constantly limiting liberties which the subject values, is here seeking to compensate him by gracious permission to do what not one in a million ever desires. But his suggestion that the Bill might be interpreted as a declaration that the heavens are empty was surely out of proportion. The Home Secretary contributed to the debate a legal opinion which was almost certainly wrong.

The debate on the Optional Clause opened somewhat haltingly. Mr. Henderson's mechanical rhetoric, with its tendency to emphasize the inessential, is rather wearisome in large doses, and Sir Austen seemed more concerned to convict his successor of inconsistency than to establish any principle of his own. It was left to Sir Herbert Samuel to arbitrate with authority, "not between two parties, but between two centuries," and to raise the debate to a level which was subsequently well maintained. Norman Angell, whose maiden speech was worthy of his reputation, and Noel Baker are recognized authorities, and Dr. Burgin was in excellent form and held his own with the best of the experts. Easily the most effective speech in support of the Tory amendment was supplied by Sir W. Mitchell-Thomson in a closely reasoned analysis of the uses of sea-power. Finally the Attorney-General answered every question which had been raised with his usual easy brilliance. His industry and efficiency are amazing, and he has the fullest scope for them in his present position.

Meanwhile, obscure rumblings proceed at intervals from the Coal Cavern. It is known that delicate negotiations are in progress. And, at the very time that the Liberal Leader and his followers are expected to be helpful and accommodating, they are being publicly accused, without a shadow of justification, of sabotage and obstruction. Obstruction of Labour by Liberals is a fiction; and would in any case be superfluous, for they obstruct themselves quite sufficiently. They did so on Pensions, and again on Unemployment Insurance; and as recently as Monday night we, the alleged obstructionists, had to listen to three Labour speeches on a supplementary estimate after midnight. Isaac Foot, with a fine sense of the fitness of things, moved the closure on the last of them.

* * *

If the Labour Party desire co-operation they can have it, but they must abandon their present mood of childish petulance. They resent our criticism of the Coal Bill because they know that it is justified; they resent our assistance because they need it; they resent our policy because they cannot beat it and are anxious but ashamed to borrow from it; and they resent our Leader because he dominates the House. Which, I believe, is what psycho-analysts call an "inferiority complex."

ERIMUS.

THE CRISIS OVER CHARING CROSS BRIDGE

IN a "democratic" age, it might be supposed that important schemes of civic design, and especially those affecting the Metropolis itself, should be subject to public criticism. It is not sufficient that such schemes should be promoted by publicly elected bodies, for the bureaucratic instruments employed by them are apt to render ineffective the forms of democratic government. The "official" scheme for Charing Cross Bridge, which has been agreed upon by the representatives of the London County Council in consultation with the Southern Railway Company, has been roundly condemned by competent critics who time and again have advanced the most cogent reasons why it should be modified. In the first instance, it makes far too many concessions to the supposed interests of the Southern Railway Company, which in any case would have been obliged to rebuild Charing Cross Bridge at its own expense in a very few years hence, for the structure shows signs of being worn out. The route chosen is the most costly one imaginable, while at the same time it provides for the very minimum of new building sites. The lay-out of streets on the Surrey side, which necessitates hundreds of yards of tunnel under Waterloo Bridge Road, is a confused medley quite unworthy to be described as town-planning. And, lastly, the "official" scheme makes for ever impossible the realization of the fine architectural effects which might result from a wise design conceived in the grand manner.

The representatives of the London County Council contend that in employing Sir Edwin Lutyens to advise them they have sufficiently proved their determination to give full value to the æsthetic aspects of the problem. It will be remembered, however, that a few years ago Sir Edwin Lutyens, while giving his allegiance to the Conference of Societies which was formed for the protection of Waterloo Bridge, was asked to advise the London County Council whether, without impairing its architectural qualities, the bridge could be widened to take four lines of traffic, and on this occasion he went out of his way to state that, in his

opinion, the bridge could not be saved. But this was an engineering matter beyond the terms of his reference. Needless to say, the majority of the County Council, then intent upon rebuilding Waterloo Bridge, were quite delighted. Sir Edwin Lutyens was, of course, entitled to his opinion upon this point, and nobody questions the sincerity of his approval of the official scheme for Charing Cross Bridge. Other architectural advice is, however, available, and in important matters requiring adjudication people are not to-day influenced by the authority of a mere name, however eminent, but are guided solely by the weight and logic of the arguments presented.

It is clear, of course, that destructive criticism of the scheme will not result in effective opposition to it, for Parliament is deeply committed to settling the problem in the present session, and will not consent to the rejection of the proposals agreed upon by the Ministry of Transport, the London County Council, and the Southern Railway unless a very clear alternative is submitted to its consideration. Sir Reginald Blomfield, therefore, has performed a great service in coming forward with an eleventh-hour suggestion which seems to provide an ideal way out of the present impasse.

His alternative proposal, outlined in a long letter to the TIMES of January 10th, is remarkable for its brilliant common sense. He would leave the existing Charing Cross Bridge alone, to be pulled down by the Southern Railway Company at its leisure and at its own expense. Meanwhile, he proposes to form a new bridge and approaches, starting from a circus in the Strand, approximately opposite the south-east corner of the Charing Cross Hospital and ending at a junction of Waterloo Road and York Road. The advantages of this solution of the problem are obvious. In the first place it saves the whole of the immense cost of compensating the Southern Railway, Coutts' Bank, Gatti's Restaurant, the Old Vic, and other buildings. It saves all the new viaduct work, including the two objectionable tunnels. The bridge comes to the ground on the Surrey side at the earliest opportunity, and it renders possible at a future date schemes for lowering the railway and placing the station underground. Sir Reginald's new bridge would provide a vista from the Strand right across the river which would be of inestimable value at this point, and the rectangulation of building sites would offer splendid opportunities for architectural treatment lacking in the official scheme.

The last and exceedingly important point in favour of Sir Reginald Blomfield's suggestion is that the bridge and its approaches could be begun with the least possible delay. Probably not more than six months would be necessary to obtain the best design for the bridge in competition, and the whole work could be completed at probably one-third of the cost and within one-third of the time required for the official scheme. The Government is credited with a determination that this latter should be undertaken as soon as possible in order that the various works in connection with it should provide a measure of relief to unemployment. But obviously the alternative proposal, if adopted, would serve this object far more effectively. According to the terms of the Bill presented to Parliament, the Southern Railway is under no obligation to move from Charing Cross until its new station on the other side of the river is complete and ready for use. The scheme is wasteful, necessarily slow in its execution, and it throws away a magnificent architectural opportunity. But Sir Reginald Blomfield has shown a better way, and Parliament, if it is to preserve its reputation as a deliberative assembly, should give his proposals a fair hearing.

A. TRYSTAN EDWARDS.

TO H. D. H.

In cap-and-bells discreetly dressed,
My random rhymes can claim at best
The licence of a jesting knave;
Yet, for your sake, this once I crave
A jester's licence not to jest.

Your hand upon the reins was light;
Yet we, who served you, learned to slight
All slipshod argument, and rant;
To clear our minds, and pens, of cant;
And keep, like you, the truth in sight.

Truth was your quest; for truth you fought
Each week; and to her service brought
Your mind's integrity austere,
Strong judgment, and a style as clear,
Close-knit, and trenchant, as your thought.

And now you leave us, we shall strive
To keep that stamp of truth alive
You set upon THE NATION's page;
While you, upon a broader stage,
Still teach the nation how to thrive.

MACFLECKNOE.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

NAVAL DISARMAMENT

SIR,—I have too much respect for the knowledge and judgment of C. E. F., who reviewed my book, "Naval Disarmament," in your columns last week to be willing to appear to differ from him on points where I think we really agree. C. E. F. thinks I have not taken sufficient account of the fact that vessels performing the general functions of a battleship will always be required whatever size limit may be set to them. I do, in fact, share C. E. F.'s views on this point, and tried to make it clear where I could that it was the abolition of the existing big ship that I had in mind (e.g., page 73, "the abolition of the battleship as conceived of to-day"; page 75, "the capital ship as understood to-day"; page 82, "the abolition of the existing capital ship").

When C. E. F. says that I "seem hardly to attach sufficient importance to the possibilities of compromise hinted at in the French Memorandum," I share his general views again, but my book was in type before the French Memorandum appeared.—Yours, &c.,

H. WILSON HARRIS.

7, Hill Close, Golders Green, N.W.
January 28th, 1930.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

SIR,—It is a strange and somewhat disturbing thought that after nineteen centuries of Christianity, the attitude of our laws and those who administer them is still that of the early mediæval legislators whose principal idea was to protect property—their property—while moral turpitude, as evinced in crimes against the person, were regarded with comparative indifference.

We have recently had two remarkable examples of this. One man was convicted of torturing his infant child of three and the magistrates were so "shocked" that they sentenced him to two months' hard labour. Another was convicted of a fraudulent gamble which involved many wealthy Corporations in heavy losses and, incidentally, himself in ruin. The moral turpitude of this so "appalled" the Judge that he sentenced him to fourteen years' penal servitude, the severest sentence allowed by law for any crime except murder.

That this view of crime is at variance with the trend of modern thought, to say nothing of the foundations of our religion, can be proved in a moment. If any average, intelligent citizen had the power or the duty of punishing two men, one of whom had robbed him and the other had tortured his child, there is not the slightest doubt that he

would consider the latter guilty of the greater moral turpitude, and would award him the heavier penalty.

I am not for one moment suggesting that crooked finance should not be severely punished. It almost invariably affects, in the last instance, the small investor, and causes real hardship and suffering, but the positive ferocity with which our legal administrators defend property compared with their comparative indifference where the moral and physical wickedness of the child-beater is concerned, certainly provides a rich diet for thought.—Yours, &c.,

GEOFFREY E. HOWARD.

32, Brompton Square, S.W.3.

January 28th, 1930.

MOTORING AND INSURANCE

SIR,—May I briefly reply to my critics?

1. The case produced by "Insurance Broker" is obviously and entirely irrelevant. What conceivable analogy is there between an owner driving an uninsured car and an employee navigating an insured ship for an owner who is not covered for 25 per cent. of third party claims!

2. I had not overlooked the fact, noticed by Mr. Leng, that the inducement to drive carefully will tend to decrease as the wealth of the driver increases. That would only be one more instance of the inevitable fact that there is always one law for the rich and another for the poor. The remedy is not to allow everyone to drive recklessly, but to have a more equitable distribution of wealth. It seems to me better that the less rich should be induced to drive carefully than that no one should be induced to do so.

3. Mr. Leng's first objection answers his second. Of course, if everyone always acted rationally, fear of death or disablement would influence everyone more than the annoyance of having to pay for a smashed car. But people do not always act rationally, as Mr. Leng shows that he recognizes by his first objection. Does Mr. Leng maintain that a man who found it difficult or impossible to pay for the damage caused to his own car by his own reckless driving would be uninfluenced by the fact?—Yours, &c.,

LEONARD WOOLF.

52, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

January 25th, 1930.

SIR,—I suppose that Mr. Woolf's plan is to safeguard against the more serious type of accident, as mentioned in the first part of his article, it being a matter of no great concern to anyone when a minor collision in traffic or at slow speed dents a wing or inflicts similar trivial damage. It should be borne in mind, however, that in the case of more serious accidents damage may be sustained which involves large amounts of money.

Now the majority of people owning cars to-day are not financially able to afford them, except through the facilities offered by hire-purchase. What, therefore, will be the attitude of the hire-purchase companies if they may at any time be presented with a cartload of tangled scrap iron on which only a couple of deposits have been paid?

Secondly, if people individually are working on such a slender capital margin, the prospect of facing a bill which may run to anything from £50 to £150, even on a comparatively cheap car, will enormously increase the tendency to impute the blame to the other party. The confusion will be augmented by the following facts:—

- (a) In many accidents there are no witnesses.
- (b) In many accidents there are conflicting witnesses.
- (c) In many accidents there has been mutually reckless driving with little or no difference in culpability.

It would therefore appear that the litigation so optimistically discounted by Mr. Woolf would be inevitable, and you would then have the unfortunate situation of a private individual with limited resources making a claim against the almost unlimited resources of an insurance company, whose business it would be to saddle him with the blame.—Yours, &c.,

C. LEADER.

7, Queenswood Court, Kings Avenue, S.W.4.

January 20th, 1930.

THE McKENNA DUTIES

SIR,—I read with interest the letters of your "Free Trade" critics to which you reasonably gave so great a prominence last week. But are not your critics allowing themselves to be swayed rather by theory and by the past results following on the abolition of the safeguarding duties in 1924, than by the present situation in the motoring industry?

Whilst agreeing with Mr. Brunker that the abolition of the duties would not have so great an effect as is commonly supposed, I am inclined to do so on different grounds. Even if the McKenna duties had allowed the growth of an entirely artificial and non-economic industry, I should very much doubt the wisdom of their sudden abolition at the present moment. But in the case of the motor trade, an industry seems to have grown up which happily suffers to an insignificant degree from the real evils of protection. Mr. Jack argues that the abolition of the duties would supply a "jerk" which would give a great impetus to our export trade. But is not the existing competition in the motor industry supplying the necessary "jerk" by natural means and at the same time counterbalancing the evils of protection? Admittedly, the policy outlined by Mr. Jack would accelerate this process. But would not the resultant feeling of insecurity and the temporary unemployment which must at all costs be avoided at the present time lead us to prefer the slower pressure of internal competition to the sudden "jerk"?

Finally, there are the financial considerations which you have already stressed. Further taxation seems unavoidable. The abolition of the duties will inevitably add to the further burden that must fall on the taxpayer and, directly or indirectly, on industry. Considering the comparatively harmless effects of the duties under existing conditions, the financial loss and the uncertainty resulting from the immediate abolition of the duties would far outweigh the value of their abolition as an industrial palliative or as a gesture *pour encourager les autres*.—Yours, &c.,

C. G. HOHLER.

10, Cadogan Place, S.W.
January 27th, 1930.

BIRTH-CONTROL INFORMATION

SIR,—I followed the correspondence, mainly between Mrs. Hubback and Mr. R. G. Randall, on this subject with some interest; the kind of interest I should imagine a mother must feel when she sees her offspring just slightly boastful and not quite so wise as she would like.

It was not the National Union of Societies which first put forward the demand that birth-control should be given at public Welfare Centres as Mrs. Hubback claimed in her letter published on December 21st. My husband and I, who founded the first birth-control clinic in this country, made that demand on the first day our clinic was opened in 1921. We are very glad that the now numerous intellectual offspring from that clinic movement include the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, but it does not help matters a bit forward to see the wrangling over detail that has been going on between that organization and Mr. Randall. The type of demand that the National Union is now making seems to the parent Society already a little *démodé*, as things have already advanced further than that. It may interest your readers (and perhaps lead to useful results) to know that a few weeks ago in Sheffield, where I addressed a free public meeting arranged by the C.B.C., with Councillor Asbury in the Chair, the following Resolution was *passed unanimously* by 2,400 people:—

"This public meeting of the Citizens of Sheffield demands that the Ministry of Health shall *cease its interference* with the medical practitioners and trained nurses in its employment at the various Ante-natal and Welfare Clinics all over the country, and shall no longer debar them from using their best professional skill in the interests of their women patients who need on good grounds to control their maternity."

This is the only form of resolution of which I am aware which is passed unanimously at huge public meetings to which both friends and foes have access.

This demand for the *cessation of interference* is much wider and less restrictive and debatable than the National Union resolution, and hence is better tactics. At the present moment the avowed public policy of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his Cabinet is "that birth-control is an individual matter which should not be brought into the realms of party politics." Using the above resolution one can then say, "Why are you then contradicting yourselves and allowing the Ministry of Health to interfere on behalf of reactionaries?" I hope this form of resolution for which absolutely unanimous approval has been won in the open field, will be adopted not only by those very valuable followers and allies of the Clinic movement who have contributed to your columns, but by all others.—Yours, &c.,

MARIE C. STOPES, President,
Society for Constructive Birth-Control
and Racial Progress.

108, Whitfield Street, London, W.1.
January 27th, 1930.

MATERNAL MORTALITY

SIR,—Your issue of January 25th, 1930, has a very powerful article headed "Maternal Mortality."

It is about twenty years, more or less, since a new law was made by Parliament which forbade a woman to act as midwife for money unless she had a certificate.

By that Act, to-day a woman in childbirth is deprived of the assistance of her experienced neighbour for the moderate fee that used to be sufficient.

Many thousands of new nurses have been trained who, no doubt, are well qualified, but who necessarily expect a good fee, and it is exceedingly improbable that any one of these expert midwives will happen to live as a near neighbour of the poor woman who requires her services.

It is quite likely that twenty years ago many of the midwives had not then been trained up to the point of cleanliness which was desirable, but it would be quite possible to give them that necessary instruction without enforcing the training of an expert, though a woman living in a country village is less likely to bring poisonous matter to her neighbour, who is being delivered of a child, than a medical man fetched post-haste from a hospital in a distant town.

It is very unfortunate that Parliament allowed itself to be persuaded to pass this law, and we can only hope that it will soon be repealed.

The result of the law has not been to reduce the maternal death-rate, which now averages for the country four times as much as that of the Rotunda Hospital in Dublin. Some of the hospitals in Great Britain are very nearly as successful. The maternal death-rate is greatest in some of the country districts where, no doubt, the present law makes it difficult to have the services of a competent midwife.—Yours, &c.,

ARNOLD LUPTON.

7, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.
January 27th, 1930.

THE ITALIAN EXHIBITION

SIR,—In the issue of January 18th, there appeared a letter from me on the above subject. To this there has been no reply in your columns, though I have received a grossly offensive letter from the Secretary of the Royal Academy, on Academy notepaper, and marked "Private," so that I cannot answer it, which in any case did not deal with the points I raised.

May I, therefore, be allowed to return once more to the gist of my letter?

1. Does the Royal Academy take, as stated in the introduction to the catalogue, 17½ per cent. of the total profits?
2. Does the Royal Academy also receive a stiff rent for the use of its exhibition rooms? And, if so, how much?
3. Might not the conduct, suggested by the first two questions, be reasonably termed "churlish"?
4. Is the behaviour of the Royal Academy in accordance

with the stated wishes of King George III., when he granted the Royal Academy such extensive privileges "in the interests of art"?

5. Does not the whole story point to the desirability of establishing for loan exhibitions an independent gallery, such as exists in nearly every capital in Europe?—Yours, &c.,

FRANCIS BIRRELL.

70, Elm Park Road, Chelsea, S.W.

THE GARROTING LEGEND

SIR,—In the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article on "Garrotte," the statement is still made that garrotting was put down by the lash. "An Act of 1863," it says, "imposing the penalty of flogging in addition to penal servitude for that offence, had the effect of stopping it almost entirely."

Advocates of flogging have always been anxious to point to proofs of its efficacy; but it is curious that they should have had recourse to so unfortunate an instance as the suppression of the famous outbreak of robbery with violence, known as "garrotting," which alarmed London in 1862, for there happens to be authentic proof that the epidemic of crime had been suppressed, under the ordinary law, *before* the Security from Violence Act, which authorized flogging, was passed in July, 1863. These were the words of the Recorder, Mr. Russell Gurney, at the March Sessions of the Criminal Court, 1863:—

"I am very glad to say that there is an absence of those peculiar charges of robbery with violence, of which there was a large number towards the end of last year, and which have been gradually decreasing during the last two or three months."

Later authorities have testified to the same effect. It may be sufficient to quote the statement made by Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons on March 28th, 1900, with which Lord Ridley, speaking from the opposite benches, expressed himself as in agreement:—

"As to garrotting, that crime had been brought to an end, as a serious danger, before the House, in a fit of panic, due to one of its own members having been garrotted, resorted to legislation. Garrotting was put down, without resort to the lash, by a fearless, but I agree a severe, administration of the existing criminal law."

One would have thought that the testimony of two Home Secretaries would carry weight; but the legend that it was the lash that stopped garrotting was already widely circulated, and has been repeated by many persons who might have been expected to be better informed. A magistrate, for example, Mr. A. C. Plowden, stated to an interviewer that "flogging put an end to garrotting," and then, when reminded of the facts, took refuge in the quibble that it was perhaps the *fear* of the lash which had that effect before the punishment was legalized! A challenge on the subject, issued by the Humanitarian League, was published in a great number of papers, but was never taken up; indeed, the only victim of the fallacy who had the frankness to confess his error was Mr. Montague Crackanthorpe, K.C., whose recantation appeared in the *Times* in December, 1902, and led to the suggestion that a statue of one who had shown such unusual candour should be erected in some prominent place.

The story found its way into several books of reference, from which it was afterwards omitted. The most curious case (and this brings us back to the point from which I started) was that of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which gave currency to the error, in its edition of 1910, in the article on "Corporal Punishment," where the further, and very serious, mistake was made of quoting the date of the Flogging Act wrongly as 1861, instead of 1863; thus lending a plausible appearance to an assertion which, when the dates are correctly stated, is seen to be absurd. The writer of this inaccurate article, when his blunder was pointed out to him, persisted in maintaining a discreet silence; and for twenty years the readers of the *Encyclopædia* have been

misled. Now, in the new edition, the error as to the date of the Act has been corrected, but the assertion of its efficacy is obstinately repeated. What makes this the stranger is that the writer of another article, that on "Flogging," frankly recognizes that corporal punishment is a failure.—Yours, &c.,

HENRY S. SALT.

Brighton.

GUSTAV MAHLER

A NOTEWORTHY feature of the present orchestral season will be the performance of three works of Gustav Mahler (the Fourth and Eighth Symphonies and "Das Lied von der Erde"), a composer virtually unknown in this country save by repute, or, more accurately, perhaps, by disrepute. It is true that about twenty years ago a half-hearted attempt was made to interest the English public in his music, but, coinciding as it did with the full flood-tide of Richard Strauss's popularity and success, it failed completely. One *kolossal* musical Teuton it seems, was, not unreasonably, as much as we could swallow at one time, and before Mahler had arrived on the scene Strauss had already so firmly established himself here as the accredited and official representative of German music that there was little chance for any of his rival compatriots to get a hearing. Then, with the violent reaction against everything Teutonic which set in shortly before the war and lasted until quite recently, Mahler, far more than Strauss even, became a kind of symbolic embodiment of all that was held to be most detestable and pernicious in musical art. The megalomaniac dimensions of his works, their vast executive requirements, the strain of facile sentimentality that is never long absent from his music, his hazy Teutonic idealism and solemnity, the frequent commonplaceness and even vulgarity of his thematic material—all these were precisely the qualities against which the new Franco-Russian school, which has dominated music for the last decade or two, reacted most strongly. Only now that this reaction is itself on the wane has it become possible to see Mahler as he really is, instead of as a kind of symbolic effigy of musical vice, bearing only the same resemblance to actuality that a caricature does to a living person.

It has to be admitted, however, that there is considerable justification for this fierce hostility. The faults of Mahler are admittedly great and heinous; they are, moreover, all on the surface, blatant and obvious. On the other hand, so many musicians of diverse tendencies and sympathies whose achievements compel our respect for their opinions have expressed an ardent admiration for the music of Mahler that there must, one feels, be something more in him than one is disposed to admit or able at once to perceive—that behind the unsympathetic exterior there must lie hidden some fine qualities which it is our duty to make an effort to discover.

In order to do so we must first lay aside the prejudices, to a great extent legitimate, which are so deeply ingrained in us of this generation. For example, we all of us, more or less, entertain a profound distrust of the grandiose and monumental. Largeness of design and vast conceptions are in themselves suspect to us, whether successfully realized or not. We have almost come to believe that a short work for a few instruments is necessarily better *per se* than a long one for a large combination. Now, admittedly the material means which Mahler demands in some of his works, notably the Eighth Symphony with its soloists, orchestra of two hundred players, organ, and

gigantic chorus, seem excessive in the sense that they are not always warranted by the weight or importance of his ideas; but this is, abstractly considered, no worse a fault than its contrary, so prevalent to-day and almost regarded as a virtue, of forcing a small medium, such as the string quartet, out of its nature, so to speak, in an attempt to make it express ideas better suited to some other combination.

The truth of the matter is that as regards this question of the relation of the means to the end, of the medium to the conception, most music since Mozart errs in the one direction or the other. Even in Beethoven, for example, one is frequently conscious of a sense of strain, as if the medium he is employing is being forced to convey ideas beyond its capacity, but this undoubted fault does not, and certainly should not, prevent us from recognizing him to be one of the very greatest of all composers. Similarly the fact that the opposite defect is to be found in Mahler is not sufficient justification in itself for dismissing him with ridicule and contempt. Not that I would suggest for a moment that Mahler is a composer of the same calibre as Beethoven, or anything like it. I only wish to imply that the fashionable attitude towards grandiosity *per se* is apt to blind us to his very real achievement, although that achievement may only be of the second order. It may be true, in fact, that the relation of ideas to the material means employed in the music of Mahler is similar to that between the brain and the body of a prehistoric megalosaurian monster; the fact remains that his ideas are intrinsically of as much greater value than those of the respectable minor composer as the cubic brain capacity of the *Diplodocus Carnegii* in the South Kensington Museum is greater than that of a perfectly proportioned rat.

The truth about Mahler, in fact, is that behind the rather long-winded, megalomaniac, portentous symphonist that he appears to be, and to a certain extent is, there lurks a genuine lyrical talent of no mean order which is continually coming to the surface. It is the same, indeed, with almost all the German symphonists since Beethoven. Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, all similarly excel in works on a small scale, and fail when they attempt the larger forms. The real, the intrinsic Brahms even, is the composer of the songs rather than of the symphonies, and I am more than inclined to suspect that Richard Strauss, at bottom, is a romantic lyricist who has taken the wrong turning.

Indeed, the German genius, in music at least, is, as I have already had occasion to observe elsewhere, essentially lyrical, contemplative, philosophic, and fundamentally opposed to the heroic, the epic, and the monumental. The old academic legend, so dear to the heart of Sir Hubert Parry, of the superiority of Teutonic composers over all others in works on a large scale is simply a myth based upon a few tremendous exceptions such as Beethoven. But Beethoven was no more a typical German than Goethe was, and it is the attempt on the part of German composers to follow the great, but for them fatally misleading, example of Beethoven that is responsible for all the worst faults of German music since his time.

Mahler is a typical example of them. The intrinsic Mahler is not the composer of the Eighth Symphony and other gigantic musical colossi, but the composer of delicate and exquisite lyrics such as the *Kindertotenlieder*, other settings of poems of Ruckert, and the *Knabe Wunderhorn* cycle. Among the larger works I would place above all the others the "*Lied von der Erde*" and the charming, comparatively unpretentious Fourth Symphony, in both of which his spontaneous lyrical gift finds full expression.

CECIL GRAY.

THE ITALIAN EXHIBITION—V*

I DEALT with Mantegna last week. This leads one naturally to his brothers-in-law, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. Gentile is represented by several works. The portrait of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus (No. 291) is by far the best. It is indeed one of his masterpieces, being in excellent condition, which is very rare, for a malignant fate seems to have pursued Gentile and left most of his portraits mere wrecks and ghosts, as can be seen in the case of No. 269. Here, however, we can really get into contact with one of the most elusive painters in Italian art. It is, indeed, extremely hard to form an idea of his personality, so careful is he to hide himself behind the veil of his purely objective record of appearances. Never for a moment does the slightest hint of any accent betray his personal attitude. In this portrait, for instance, he renders every detail of the minutely patterned gold tissue of the dress with unerring exactitude, and yet without ever losing his way for an instant, without ever losing his clear grasp of the whole volume of the bust. We can realize this best by comparing him with a mere craftsman like Bartolommeo Veneto, who also loves every excuse for detailed delineation, but who lacks all sense of the bigger relations. What is so strange in Gentile Bellini is precisely the amplitude and breadth of form which lies half-concealed beneath this deceptive appearance of merely meticulous exactitude. Look, for instance, at the strings of pearls which are crossed upon the lady's breast. Here each pearl is given its precise peculiarities of size and quality, and yet they follow every movement of the form of the flesh against which they lie. No other Venetian, not even Giovanni, has anything like this sheer imaginative grasp of form in its largest, most significant relations as Gentile. And his feeling for tone relations is no less remarkable, as one can see from the vast compositions like the "*St. Mark preaching at Alexandria*," of the Brera, where also he seems voluntarily to have undertaken the most laboriously minute account of every detail of every building in the whole city which he depicts. Gentile seems to refuse from the first to make any selection in what he paints. His indifference is complete. He will paint anything that may be required of him, and paint every part of it with the same conscientious and minute exactness, trusting that his æsthetic feeling can always find its account in the sheer perfection of his sense of relative values.

Another work by him (No. 271) is the painted door of the shrine in which Cardinal Bessarion's reliquary was kept. Gentile has accepted the data in the simplest possible way. Since the shrine was made to honour the reliquary, he has painted that in all the detail of its Byzantine enamel work, nothing is omitted, and yet no detail ever breaks the subdued tonality; and then Bessarion, the donor, is placed simply kneeling in profile, without slurring, accenting, or showing any consciousness of the ugly, lumpy modelling, the almost ridiculous nose; and then he has still to fit in two of the monks of the *Carità*. There is room for one in profile, and one has to fit in behind where half his face is hidden by the elaborate Renaissance mount of the reliquary. "*Tant pis*," Gentile seems to say, as unperturbed, as indifferent and yet as impeccably right in his understanding as ever. What a strange man, with no predilections, no specific inspiration, no recognizable attitude, except this perfect equanimity and this unerring feeling for pictorial values. It is no little credit to the taste of the Venetian patrons of his day that he occupied so big a place in the world of art.

And what a contrast his brother affords. Giovanni never conceals his predilections, and very rarely works against their bias. No doubt in his youth he was fascinated

* Mr. Roger Fry's previous articles on the Italian Exhibition have appeared in our last four issues, and we shall publish another next week.

by Mantegna, but he soon saw both how ill he could follow him and how much of his own he would miss by doing so. Then there were moments when Donatello's bas-reliefs at Padua inspired him to translate them into painting and into the key of his more obvious sentiment. Such a moment is recorded in the *Pietà* (No. 144) from Rimini, where the frieze of *putti* supporting the dead body is conceived more as a relief than as a vision of reality. And it suffers from this diversion from his native bent, for his sense of the interdependence of forms was not equal to such a Florentine conception, and the too emphatic pathos jars with the attempted formal convention.

What Giovanni required, like more modern artists, was a direct and particular vision of nature. As he watched his wife nursing or playing with her baby, some context of poses would suddenly appear to him as significant, as expressive of a distinct mood, and in a flash he would see his picture, feeling all its implications. And no less surely was he for ever on the alert to seize some particular moment of the day when the level light brought the hint of a more perfect harmony of tones and colours than usual. It is due to this visual alertness that he is so fertile in ideas that each of his Madonnas expresses so clearly a moment of authentic inspiration, and that for all the sameness of the theme and even of his habitual sentiment he never repeats himself. The early Madonna (No. 281), which is still somewhat Mantegnesque in some of its forms, is none the less already seen in a special light which envelops and controls the singularly subtle colour scheme. No. 279 is less satisfactory. Though there is great beauty in the pose of the Child—surely seen in its instantaneous felicity of rhythm—the picture is more made up and somewhat conventional in its gold high lights and pure, rather "illuminated" colour. Perhaps there is a vague idea of the Byzantine devotional Madonnas which were still in fashion.

But we see him best in the Madonna (No. 280), painted in oils, and therefore after 1470—indeed, it may well be towards the end of the century. Here the significant moment can be clearly recognized in the unexpected harmonies of the grey-blue sky and the subdued tones of the landscape as though a cloud shadow lay upon it, and the contrast of the impact of warm light on the figures and on the pear which lies on the parapet.

But the greatest instance of this peculiarly modern sense of colour values is to be seen in the "Transfiguration" (No. 151), where, more than anywhere else, Bellini has abounded in his love of landscape and of atmospheric effects. How almost literal, how precise to the time of day and season—one must not be led by the dead tree to suppose it winter—this is, anyone can tell who knows the hill country of the Venetian hinterland where Bellini sought his motives. This picture marks the wide difference which separates Venetian culture from that of Central Italy. No Florentine—except for Leonardo, who is always to be expected—would have felt free thus to "peep and botanize"—and geologize, for that matter—in the foreground while the Transfiguration was going on. A true Venetian, like Bellini, was almost as empirical, as much tied by the cosy, familiar intimacies of earth as the Flemish artists. The great difference between them lies in the fact that the Venetian feels not only a naïve delight in such things, but the full significance of their overtones; that he realizes the mood as clearly as the situation. And the mood of this, though it might serve almost better for some high romance such as Giorgione loved, though it lacks anything of the transcendental quality that a Lorenzetti or a Fra Angelico would have achieved, is still sufficiently exalted not to jar with the serene dignity of the three divine figures; for Bellini

has chosen a moment when the earth itself seems transfigured by the spell of some supernormal influence.

ROGER FRY.

PLAYS AND PICTURES

"The Man in Possession," Ambassadors Theatre.

"THE Man in Possession" (Mr. H. M. Harwood's comedy at the Ambassadors Theatre) is an extremely amusing little trifle. The plot is rather complicated, and would spoil in the telling, though it is easy and ingenious on the stage. Suffice it to say that it moves cynically and wittily to what would appear to be the inevitably sentimental ending, and then by a small twist even the sentimental ending is avoided. "Moral turpitude is all very well in real life, but is fatal on a passport," remarks the adventurer to the adventuress; while the further point, that a university education is only of use to those who wish to be waiters or footmen is equally well illustrated. Miss Isabel Jeans, as the adventuress living without a penny in an expensive Mayfair flat, gave a masterly performance, replete with a hard, rather shoddy, glitter, which must be seen to be believed; and Mr. Raymond Massey, as the young adventurer, who is a gaolbird, a bailiff, and a footman, and finally cuts out his respectable brother, was a good example of how to get one's effects with the minimum of fuss. I was delighted to hear him quote a lot of Tennyson, though pained to observe that the audience did not seem to recognize the lines. This excellent comedy was preceded by a one-act play of Eugene O'Neill, dealing with life on a tramp steamer in the war-zone. It was meant to be harrowing, but, to my mind, only succeeded in being shymaking. "The Man in Possession" can be recommended to anyone.

"The Way Out," Comedy Theatre.

"The Way Out" (Sapper's new comedy) is a slow-moving, simple-minded affair, dealing with the Far Eastern problem. Some tremendously simple-minded English soldiers are "up against" some devilishly inscrutable Chinese, but in spite of their terrible inferiority, both in conduct and intelligence, they vanquish in the end. Can it be by this method that we still keep our dominion in the Orient? In the last two minutes the leading "Chink" and the English waster both die. But we took the devil of a time reaching the inevitable end. The acting seemed dull, owing, no doubt, to the woodenness of the characters, though Mr. Edgar Norfolk made something of the only part in the play, that of the wastrel British officer, whose addiction to dope drives him into the clutches of the Chinese conspirator.

"Darling! I Love You," Gaiety Theatre.

If you are a real musical comedy fan who cannot dispense with flourish and precision and must have your Town Houses and Riviera presented with sumptuous splendour, you will probably come away from "Darling! I Love You" unsatisfied. But if you have a taste for musical comedy without being too particular, or if you can just stand it, then you will enjoy yourself enormously, or at any rate stand it easily. A town house and the Riviera are there certainly, but they are not ostentatious, and the evening has other things to offer—notably humour, and particularly Mr. George Clarke who, as a jazz drummer masquerading as an earl, opening a yacht club, and giving orders to dismiss the odd fifty-five gardeners easily keeps the audience laughing. It would be worth going a long way and sitting in boredom for a long time to see him. But the rest of the entertainment is anything but boring. Half a dozen people dodging one another without knowing it in a bed-, bath- and sitting-room suite (sectional view) are very funny, and Mr. Neil McKay, who dances extremely well, would deserve all the applause he gets for his exits alone—which must be seen to be believed. The love making is done by Miss Vera Lennox and Mr. Harold French, who sing the most catchy songs of the evening pleasantly, and who are

united at the end satisfactorily. The plot, flimsy enough to comply with musical comedy conventions, is yet coherent and amusing enough to allow scope for the elaborations.

"The White Assegai," The Playhouse.

There is something dead-and-alive about this play. It ought to be interesting, its characters are clearly drawn, its humour, though in small rations, is intelligent, and the plot seems to be developed logically and with adequate speed; but somehow it is dull. Possibly the explanation is that it is too realistic, too faithful a picture of life at the Residency in an African colonial district. This does not, however, apply to the natives, and it is certainly a feather in the cap of the author, Mr. Allan King, that the ending is neither anti-climactic nor silly, in spite of the fact that he makes his natives speak to each other in high-falutin' thou's and thee's, to indicate that they are supposed to be using their own tongue. Looking back on the evening, I find it hard to understand why Sir Barry Jackson should have produced the play. There is nothing experimental about it, and on the whole it is only a small degree above the level of most "commercial" plays, if that. Nor is his reason apparent for casting Mr. Ernest Thesiger for the Doctor. Mr. Thesiger, as everyone knows, is a brilliant actor of "eccentric" parts, but this doctor, except for his liking for alcohol (being a doctor in a tropical play he had to have a liking for alcohol), is the most ordinary of men, with nothing whatever about him that does not call for ordinary acting, which is just what Mr. Thesiger cannot provide. Nor, incidentally, is his Scotch accent recognizably Scottish. The rest of the cast, however, are admirable, particularly Miss Phyllis Shand, as the epitome of all Cockney wives—the best-written part in the play—Miss Marianne Caldwell, Mr. Godfrey Tearle, and Mr. William Heilbronn.

"The Watcher," Everyman Theatre.

There is the germ of a good play here, but Mr. Ralph Neale takes far too long to incubate it. His preliminary scenes in the first act—bickerings of a suburban family—are extremely vivid and deftly written, but the moment he begins to get on with the play he seems to lose his sense of the theatre. To the suburban family enter an attractive, apparently young, woman, about whom one feels immediately that there is a mystery, but is only given a hint as to what it is. If Mr. Neale had made it clear from the start not only that she has parted with her soul to the devil in exchange for eternal youth, but also, what is much more important, why she has descended on this family, then his play would have stood a chance. As it is, it seems only to have begun to develop when it gets to the final curtain—in itself a very effective scene, well acted by Miss Betty Potter. The climax amounts simply to an explanation of the exposition, instead of a culmination of action. Throughout the play there is a certain lack of poise, an unevenly maintained balance between things spoken and things implied. This is probably due in part to the fact that Mr. Neale, who is his own producer, cannot detach himself, so to speak, from Mr. Neale the dramatist, so that he tends either to over-emphasize or under-emphasize his points. The construction, too, is often creaky. Again and again the senile grandmother of the family (Miss Marjorie Gabain: a clever study) has to be got on and off the stage, and it is hardly ever naturally done. Miss Margaretta Warwick, whose work is new to me, gives a first-rate performance as Mrs. Clive, and Mr. Harold Scott is magnificently made up as her husband.

Camden Town Group, Leicester Galleries.

Apart from its artistic interest, the exhibition of the Camden Town Group which has opened recently at the Leicester Galleries summarizes a brief but important recent chapter in the history of English painting. The group was formed, as a secession from the New English Art Club, in 1911, and in 1914, together with the members of the "Vorticist" group, formed the nucleus of the London Group. Several of its most promising and leading members—Spencer Gore, Harold Gilman, J. D. Innes, and M. G.

Lightfoot—died at an early age; others, such as Sickert, Duncan Grant, and Augustus John, have risen to prominence as leading figures in present-day English painting. The work of all these and of other members, J. B. Manson, Lucien Pissarro, Charles Ginner, R. P. Bevan, Walter Bayes, Malcolm Drummond, Henry Lamb, W. Ratcliffe, is represented in this exhibition. The most striking common quality of all the painters of this group and period, and the quality which forms the most noticeable contrast with the majority of contemporary work, is their preoccupation with light, colour, and tone values rather than with either line or three-dimensional form. This is especially noticeable in the case of Spencer Gore, whose design is in his colour, and who particularly emphasizes luminosity and texture of paint, as is well seen in his "Rule, Britannia." Sickert's "The Red Blouse" and "Warren Street," are fine examples of his earlier work; W. Ratcliffe's very beautiful room-interior, "The Home of Ellen Key," must also be mentioned.

* * *

Things to see and hear in the coming week:—

Saturday, February 1st.—

"Michael and Mary," by A. A. Milne, at St. James's.

Orchestral Concert for Children, Central Hall, 11.

London Ballad Concert, Queen's Hall, 2.30.

Gounod's "Faust," at the Royal Albert Hall, 2.30 (Royal Choral Society).

Moisewitsch, Recital, Wigmore Hall, 8.

Sunday, February 2nd.—

"The Fiddler Played it Wrong," by Mr. Edward Percy, at the Strand.

"Forty-Seven," by Mr. Sydney Loch, at the Prince of Wales's (Incorporated Stage Society).

Monday, February 3rd.—

"Charles and Mary," by Miss Joan Temple, at the Everyman.

Tuesday, February 4th.—

"Almost a Honeymoon," at the Garrick.

Miss Ellen C. Wilkinson, M.P., on "Women and Peace," Friends House, 1.20.

Wednesday, February 5th.—

"The Command to Love," a Comedy, at the Arts Theatre.

Thursday, February 6th.—

Mr. A. P. Oppé, on "The Raphael Cartoons," at the Victoria and Albert Museum, 5.30.

Unveiling of Mural Decorations at Morley College by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, 5.

Friday, February 7th.—

Hamilton Harty Symphony Concert, Queen's Hall, 8.15.
OMICRON.

THE POMP OF DEATH

THEY told me she had died,

And everybody sighed—

For her, for me, or for themselves?

They ordered mourning bands,

They seemed to wring their hands—

For her, for me, or for themselves?

The coffin came, and flowers,

With notes, arrived in showers,

For her, for me, or for themselves?

'Twas not for her,

For she was far away,

Far from this Earth's decay.

'Twas not for me,

I only long'd to pray,

Without such vain display.

Perhaps 'twas for themselves,

For in this subtle way

The pomp of Death holds sway.

J. P. WINCKWORTH.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

THE COUNT OF MONTE CRISTO

YEARS and years ago, in a London now dead and buried, the London of the horse, the hansom, and the four-wheeler, before the Central Hall, Westminster, was built, there stood somewhere on or near its site a curious building which housed the London Aquarium. It was not an Aquarium at all, but one of the dingiest and dreariest of Victorian heterogeneous shows. Samson, the strong man, appeared there, challenging all comers, and was, I think, defeated by the young Sandow. I once saw a "native village" there, which consisted of five unfortunate alleged Fijians eating raw meat. I can remember being taken there, as a boy, one day for a treat. The audience was dingy, the performers were dingy, the building was dingy, the foggy London afternoon was dingy. A dingy, depressed little man climbed up a rope ladder to a small wooden platform just under the roof, was tied up in a sack so that only his head protruded, and, shouting in a melancholy voice: "With me 'ands and feet tied, Mawnty-cristo!" shuffled himself off the platform into space, and fell with a great splash into a small tank of water on the floor. (Not long after I saw him, he ended his melancholy existence one evening by missing the tank.) I can still remember the effect of that one word Mawnty-cristo echoing through the dreary, drab, stuffy, middle-class reality of the London Aquarium and its audience. The melancholy little man in the sack, the rain water cistern on the floor vanished, and for one moment a gleam of pure romance flashed through us all, to be extinguished immediately by the melancholy splash as Mawnty-cristo fell into the rain water cistern. That must have been in 1892 or 1893. We all knew Monte Cristo, though the book in its twelve volumes was half a century old and written by a Frenchman. Monte Cristo was romance, and the enduring nature of Dumas's fame may be seen in the undoubted fact that the name of the hero of no other book, written by a Frenchman, would have been familiar, as was Monte Cristo's, to every one of that London audience.

In 1852, Dumas, having exhausted his enormous popularity and having spent the immense sums of money that it had brought him, retired with his little negro Alexis to Brussels. He remained there for something over a year, and during that time, in order to repair his fortunes, he wrote, with the help of his dreary secretary and collaborator, Parfait, eleven books and three plays. One of the books was "Mémoires," in fifteen volumes, and this was followed after his return to Paris by a "Second Series" of Memoirs in eleven volumes. Dumas always did everything on the grand scale; he had no sympathy with, he could never have understood, the classical ideal and doctrine of "the mean." One can hardly expect a man who writes in a little over twelve months fifteen volumes of memoirs in addition to ten other books and three plays to produce a masterpiece of autobiography. Dumas's "Mémoires" are not a masterpiece, but they are well worth reading, full of life and colour in their ramshackle way. He was not, however, one of those who, by his autobiography, made a biographer unnecessary, and it was inevitable in these days of biography that sooner or later we should be given a new Life of Dumas. Here it is in "Dumas, the Incredible Marquis," by Herbert S. Gorman (Gollancz, 25s.). The publisher quotes on the jacket a "dictum" of Mr. Ford Madox Ford that "there cannot be a better book of its kind in the world." Any intelligent person who has read a little of Mr. Gorman's

book will be irritated whenever this absurd statement catches his eye, but it would be a pity if he allowed his irritation to blind him to Mr. Gorman's merits. The biography is too long and too wordy; the story and the style both have a tendency to flop. But Mr. Gorman has been at immense pains to collect and marshal his facts, and he is sufficiently interested in them to allow them to tell their own story. He does succeed in giving a very good picture or panorama, on a huge scale, of Dumas's life, and, what is perhaps more important, of that amazing period in Paris between 1820 and 1850 in which Dumas played so prominent a part.

As an individual, Dumas, now that he has been safely dead for sixty years, has great charm. If one had met him in real life, one might well, like Balzac, have hated him. But his good humour, wit, enormous vitality, flamboyancy, simplicity, absurdity produce a fascinating character. It is difficult to feel that one can be quite fair to him as a writer. Most French critics would say that he must stand or fall by his plays, while in England he is known almost entirely from his stories. He was an instinctive writer; in a sense, it would be true to say that the spirit of his age simply blew through him with great violence, and the tune to which the spirit of the age was to dance poured out of him in the same way as a tune pours out of the pipes of a gigantic organ. The spirit which blew through Dumas was the spirit of romance. The critics who will have nothing to do with the words classical and romantic must cut the years 1820 to 1843 out of the history of French, if not of European, history. They must abolish Hugo, Dumas, and de Vigny. The loss would be great if we did abolish them, for no literary episode is more interesting than that in which these three ill-assorted musketeers deliberately assassinated the moribund eighteenth century. In 1829 the eighteenth century still lingered in an unpleasant state of semi-corpselike life in the regime of Metternich at Vienna, in the French Government, and in the Théâtre français. The form which the corpse took in the theatre was, of course, the "classical" drama, the mummified descendant from Racine. The story of the murder of that corpse by Dumas, Vigny, and Hugo is extraordinarily interesting, and is very well told by Mr. Gorman. It is an amazing thing that the first blow was struck by Dumas with his "Henri III." on February 11th, 1829, for Dumas had come to Paris less than ten years previously an absurd, uneducated, penniless country bumpkin. The qualities which made this possible were, no doubt, individual qualities, the same which later were to enable him to write in "Antony" perhaps the first "modern" drama, and still later to write "The Three Musketeers" and "Monte Cristo." He was what is called "a born writer," and he was also a born dramatist, for he had an amazing instinct for what would tell on the stage. But he had another even more important quality. "I carry with me," he once said, "wherever I go—I don't know how it is, but it is so—an atmosphere of life and stir which has become proverbial." But he also had the extremely rare power of carrying with him not merely wherever he went in life, but into his own writings this atmosphere of life and stir. It is years since I read "Les Trois Mousquetaires" and "Monte Cristo," and I should hesitate to read them again for fear of disturbing such pleasant memories, but what I remember most vividly about them is this atmosphere of life and stir. It is a rare quality in literature.

LEONARD WOOLF.

REVIEWS

THE MODERN THEATRE

Monthly Letters. By WILLIAM POEL. (Werner Laurie. 3s. 6d.)
Myself and the Theatre. By T. KOMISARJEVSKY. (Heinemann. 12s. 6d.)

The Story of Ireland's National Theatre. By DAWSON BYRNE. (Talbot Press. 7s. 6d.)

THE thread which connects these three books is a lament at the modern commercial theatre, and a suggestion that the only hope of an honourable future lies in a National one. But after all, the modern theatre has been commercial for three centuries, and what determines the qualities of a theatre is not the grasping instincts of the sub-sub-boss, but the kind of people who go to look at it. Not in legislation will salvation be found, but in a change of heart. A nation gets the theatre it deserves, the mechanism by which it gets it is neither here nor there. And our dread of a national theatre is not unfounded. It will perpetuate a tradition, but what sort of tradition? That of the most popular star actors of the time. That thought will make Mr. Poel groan, and Mr. Komisarjevsky scream, while Mr. Byrne will be able to smile quietly to himself. It is a terrible thought. Not to injure present reputations, let us suppose the National Theatre to have been established and duly blessed a long generation ago. We should now be enduring the tradition of Irving, as indicated by Mr. Poel speaking of 1886:—

"While rejecting the declamatory methods of Macready's time, the actors failed by more modern means to make the characters alive or interesting, and to avoid tameness they were obliged to force their own personality into prominence instead of that of the characters which ought to have been impersonated. One of the greatest offenders in this respect was Sir Henry Irving, whose physical and vocal limitations made it impossible for him to do justice to many parts in which he appeared. His genius, however, for stage management brought his tableau methods into favour, and they had many imitators, so that managers vied with one another in the amount of money they spent on upholstery until the interest in Shakespeare's plays became largely one of finance for the stage setting."

The star actor or actress is the great disease: the only thing to do is to work the company so hard in repertory, that nobody can take leading parts every time.

Mr. Poel's "Letters" are as beautifully written as they are beautifully thought. One may object to one or two little crankinesses here and there, but in their main lines they are admirable. What is so welcome about their attitude is the proper balance struck between the literary and the dramatic. Unlike the common run of producers, Mr. Poel believed that Shakespeare's words mean something apart from what the actor can put into them. Respect for the stage and its peculiar methods is happily blended with respect for authors. The letters are extremely revealing where the art of acting itself is concerned, and the remarks on stage speaking should be pondered by every actor. It is earnestly to be hoped that this book will have a wide circulation, but it is to be feared that it will be read mainly by those already converted to his views.

Those wedded to Mr. Poel's ideas will not altogether approve of Mr. Komisarjevsky, who is inclined to rely a little too much on scenery for his effects, as can be seen from the many charming illustrations in this book; but he does not go the whole hog and design stage sets against which the human figure must appear ridiculous: he does not belong to the school which obtains intimacy—one can have too much intimacy in any case—by means of motor bicycles rushing about from the auditorium to the stage. His book also is extremely valuable, and most entertaining. It is full of amusing anecdote sandwiched in between the declaration and exposition of his principles. There is no room to quote any of his farcical American adventures, nor his dialogue with a young would-be star English actor; one knows the detestable breed only too well. But one may give the story he tells when he went to produce at the Moscow Imperial Grand Opera House. He knew he would have enormous difficulties in overcoming the prejudices of

the old staggers (Oh, these National Theatres!) and determined to keep his temper. He "showed such self-possession, that one of the 'pillars' who was used to temperamental producers exclaimed in exasperation, 'That young fellow is an Englishman, not a producer!'" One can only wish that there were more "Englishmen" like him about, for most of the noteworthy productions of the last few years are due to his genius. The word is not too strong. Alas for the English theatre! Mr. Komisarjevsky is inclined to think that its only hope lies in the amateur, and the amateur will never be allowed to have his finger in the National Theatre pie.

Yet a good endowed theatre is a possibility, as the history of the Abbey Theatre shows. Mr. Bryne's book is welcome, as any informative book on that excellent institution is bound to be. Unfortunately, in contradistinction with Mr. Komisarjevsky's book, it is written without a trace of humour, except what is quite unconscious. His account of the devilish machinations of that poor old cock-shy, the British Empire, to ruin the Irish Players is really very funny, but it makes one a little suspicious of his freedom from prejudice. Thus when we read his account of the quarrel between horrid, cantankerous Mr. Ervine, and those perfect angels the Irish Players, we wonder seriously whether the qualities have been fairly distributed, especially as the account differs from that of Mr. Malone in his "The Irish Drama." It is mainly an historical book, and very fairly complete (it may be completed from Lady Gregory's "Our Irish Theatre"), and overflows, not unnaturally, with panegyric. He only occasionally descends to criticism, once when praising Mr. Sean O'Casey, and once when upbraiding Synge for not treating the Irish priest with the awe and respect which he deserves. His book is certainly an argument for an endowed theatre, but it remains to be seen whether, now it has become State-endowed, it will continue to be the shining light for which we have all been so grateful.

BONAMY DOBRÉE.

ONE GOD AND FATHER OF ALL

A Reply to Father Vernon. By ERIC MILNER-WHITE and WILFRID L. KNOX. (Mowbray. 2s. 6d.)

THE ritual and theological controversies which for some years past have distracted the Church of England have, as might have been expected, given rise to a certain number of secessions to Rome. The most notable of these was that of a well-known clergyman, Mr. Vernon Johnson—in religion, Father Vernon—who gave his reasons for the step in a work entitled "One Lord, One Faith," which has had a considerable circulation in Anglican circles. What chiefly moved him was, it seems, the growth of Modernism in the Established Church; in particular among the clergy. He appears to be an amiable and devout man; not perhaps very well informed, who evidently acted under a sense of duty, though also under the influence of an emotional crisis; and (which is rarely the case with converts) he shows no sign of bitterness towards his former Communion and friends.

"One God and Father of All" is a reply to this Apologia by two leading Cambridge Anglo-Catholics, Mr. Eric Milner-White, of King's, and Mr. Wilfrid L. Knox, of the Oratory House. It is published by a firm which represents "the most straitest sect of our religion"; has it not been said *Ubi Mowbray, ibi Ecclesia*? Yet—

"Who shall decide where doctors disagree,
 And soundest casuists doubt, like you and me?"

"The reply is disappointing, and may be harmful," says the CHURCH TIMES, speaking of the effect which it has already had on public opinion; and protesting in particular against the "superiority" expressed by the TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, which suggests (it would be more accurate to say states) that "Modernist, or semi-Modernist, arguments are the only arguments by which Christianity can commend

itself to thoughtful people." This, in the opinion of the Editor of the *Church Times*, is "mere impertinence," which encourages the less reputable Roman Catholic apologists to "splutter venom"; it is also "extremely stupid," and "in deplorable taste."

Well, *la bonne presse*, is not, perhaps, a very good judge of the fine shades of journalistic courtesy, and, for the rest, as a great guide of souls, himself a Catholic and a priest, happily puts it—"il faut que l'orthodoxie s'arrange avec la vérité; c'est son affaire à elle."

In any case "One God and Father of All" is a significant book; and its significance is that it comes from so unlikely a quarter—from the extreme wing of Anglo-Catholicism. The writers would disclaim Modernism, and no doubt sincerely; but their outlook can only be described by that name. They recognize that the Apostles were mistaken as to the imminence of the Parousia; and that our Lord did not reveal Himself to them as God, in the traditional sense of the word. Here they stand on solid ground. "Testatur hoc Athanasius, Apostolos excusans quod initio prædicandi Evangelii de Christi tantummodo humana natura locuti videntur." (Petavius, *De Incarnatione* I. ii.)

Had the New Testament been subjected to a theological censorship, how much of it would have been expunged, or "edited" out of recognition? Happily at an early date the text came to be regarded as too sacred to be tampered with, and was too well known to be "edited" without detection. The various strata, therefore, lie side by side unreconciled; and show clearly that those who brought them together, and left them as they have come to us, saw Christ from another angle and in another perspective than ours. There are three distinct Christologies in the New Testament: that of the Synoptics and the first section of the Acts of the Apostles, which suggests a still earlier one behind it; the Pauline; and the Johannine. The three differ radically from one another: and it is impossible to identify or reconcile that of the General Councils, which prevails in the modern Churches, with any one of the three. While, if we imagine the discovery of a lost Gospel, in which our Lord was represented as asserting the beliefs formulated by the later creeds and Councils as articles of faith and matters of fact, the most conservative scholars would at once pronounce it a forgery; it would be clearly impossible that He should have thought or spoken in this way.

Nor are moral questions dealt with less freely than theological.

"The question of birth control is, in my case, a difficult one; and it is made more difficult by the nonsense sometimes uttered by partisans on either side. The present condemnation of such practices by the Roman Church is based merely on the 'ordinary' authority of the Papacy. No one pretends that there is any infallible pronouncement on the matter, and we have seen that such pronouncements can be altered, or allowed to fall into oblivion. For the fact is that the Papacy, like other human institutions, has, on the whole, simply reflected the beliefs of the average Christian of the period. These change slowly. Do not let us pretend that we have an infallible voice, when the truth is that we have a religious body which can be relied on to change as slowly as possible."

The fact is that Modernism—which is Father Vernon's, as it is the Pope's, bog—is like the village ghost, a turnip and a sheet; and to use it as a vague general term of reproach, as Pius X. did in the Apostolic Acts of 1907, means nothing.

"The unsettlement of belief to-day is due not to Modernism, but to the impact of modern science, Biblical criticism, and rationalism on a religious world taken by surprise, and hampered by effete intellectual methods."

These effete methods are illustrated on almost every page of Father Vernon's book, the arguments of which would mean nothing to any educated, or even averagely well-informed, man.

ALFRED FAWKES.

P.S.—The *Church Times* of January 24th publishes a singularly lucid reply by the authors of "One God and Father of All" to the criticism of that book contained in its issue of December 13th, 1929.

THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE

A History of Science, and its Relations with Philosophy and Religion. By W. C. DAMPIER-WHETHAM, M.A., F.R.S. (Cambridge University Press. 18s.)

THERE is nothing so exhilarating as the history of science. However insistently the philosophers may preach to us that the domain jointly ruled by the mathematicians, the physicists, and the biologists is limited, abstract, essentially one-sided and incomplete, it is indisputable that the quest in which they are engaged is not only important, but rich in intellectual satisfaction, and, above all, extraordinarily successful. The record of scientific research, more particularly during the last four centuries, has been one of unchecked and triumphant progress from strength to strength; civilized mankind turning at last to tackle, with admirable teamwork, something it really can do, and keep on doing better and better, as confidence and ambition have grown, and as the impersonal collective mind of "natural philosophers" has become ever better adapted to its function. And in these bleak times in which we live it is no small refreshment to be reminded that never in the past have physics and biology been more tensely engaged in the throes of conquest than they are at this moment.

Widely read in all branches of science, an accomplished specialist in physics, and, as those know who had the good fortune to read, twenty-five years ago, his "Recent Developments of Physical Science," a skilled exponent of learning for the unlearned, Mr. Whetham has unrivalled qualifications for the task he has set himself; and he is to be congratulated upon having produced, at the cost of what must have been great labour, a fascinating book. In the space of something under five hundred pages he gives an account first of the incomparable achievements of the Greeks; then of the mournful millennium of darkness which followed the eclipse of their genius; then of the rebirth of fruitful curiosity with the Renaissance; the following seven chapters—two-thirds of the book—are devoted to our own age, the "Newtonian epoch," covering the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "Nineteenth-century physics," "Nineteenth-century biology," "Nineteenth-century science and philosophic thought," "Recent developments in biology and anthropology," and the "New Era in physics"; while in a final chapter, entitled "Scientific philosophy and its outlook," the author discusses the limitations and the prospects of experimental science.

This is a large book; but the ground it covers is even larger; and Mr. Whetham has had to steer a difficult course. It was neither open to him to assume in his readers a specialist's knowledge of each of the branches of science discussed, and to confine himself to writing, with adequate illustrations, an essay on the processes and conditions of research; nor could he, in any reasonable space, give a full popular account of physics, chemistry, astronomy, physiology and biology as they stand to-day. He has been compelled to compromise; and though almost every page leaves us asking for more, it must be agreed that on the whole he has compromised successfully. He is throughout closely attentive to what is, after all, his capital topic, the chronicle of discovery, but he by no means precludes himself from explaining, as to the uninitiated, the substance of what was discovered. If we have a criticism to make—we make it with hesitation—it is that Mr. Whetham has perhaps sometimes over-estimated the knowledge which he can reasonably hope that readers less encyclopædic than himself will bring with them. The doubt has occurred to the present reviewer not only when he did not, but also, altruistically, when he did happen to know what was expected of him. But we must hasten to add that the prospective reader need not be unduly alarmed; the author is too expert an expositor to confront him with obstacles which cannot be circumvented.

Mr. Whetham, who always keeps before the reader the relations and interaction between the experimental and mathematical sciences and other forms of speculative thought, is convinced that while the methods and the aims of these sciences remain, as they must, distinct from those of metaphysics, concerned with ultimate reality and the possibility of knowing it, scientific thought is liberating it—



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self from the narrowness of outlook from which it suffered so long, and by which it was beguiled into the belief that it had a monopoly of truth. "The work of the inductive sciences is to put together a conceptual knowledge of nature, and science, by its own methods, cannot touch the problem of metaphysical reality." By a strange inversion of rôles, while philosophy is finding it necessary to lay emphasis upon the reality of the sensible, physics is moving, as it seems, ever farther into the region of the symbolic and the unimaginable.

It is the immemorial custom of reviewers, even in the case of books commanding so much respect as this, to call attention to minor verbal slips. To conform to this tradition we may observe that there is a misprint in the equation at the foot of page 167.

MAURICE AMOS.

FRANCE AND THE RENAISSANCE

History of France, 1498-1514. By JOHN BRIDGE. Vols. III. and IV. (Oxford University Press. 16s. each vol.)

It would be mere humbug to pretend that these two volumes, treating in considerable detail the foreign policy of Louis XII., do not make pretty stiff reading. For this, however, the author cannot be too much blamed. He is attacking the subject from the dreariest end. The years 1498-1514 saw the full flowering of the genius of Raphael and Michelangelo. Politics inevitably take a second place. And even the politics are treated from the least satisfactory end. There was one primal need for Europe during this period—peace in Italy, in order that the Renaissance should develop healthily. Mr. Bridge tells us of the barbarian invasions which turned that hope into a dream. Further, even from the French point of view, the diplomacy of Louis was futile. By the end of the reign he had lost control of the Milanese and his frontier was open to invasion. The Italian conquests remained a mirage and a disaster, till Henri II. turned his back on Italy and led France to her true destiny in the North and East. From one aspect alone was the Italian episode fruitful. The Italians educated their masters, so that the French finally marched out of Milan, considerably more civilized than when they first entered it. Yet this aspect of the matter can hardly be treated in these two volumes.

Futile abroad, Louis XII. was more successful in his home policy, and Mr. Bridge promises us another volume, treating at length the King's judicial and financial reforms. One looks forward to this volume with great interest, for Mr. Bridge is genuinely enthusiastic about his subject, is very widely read, and expresses himself energetically and well. It is unfortunate that, in these two volumes, his whole tale is so desperately futile. Nothing was ever more hopeless than the Italian politics of the early sixteenth century. All the leaders built on sand and nothing was ever lasting. Two incidents stand out in Mr. Bridge's volumes as incidents that might have been important, the League of Cambrai, and the Holy League. As the result of the League of Cambrai, the Venetians seemed crushed at Agnadello, yet in a few months, as a result of a few negotiations, it became obvious that nothing whatever had happened. During the first few months of the Holy League, France was triumphant at Ravenna, and the whole peninsula seemed within her grasp. A few Swiss changed sides, and four armies were rapidly entering into France. Mary Tudor then married Louis, the English this time changed over, and once again nothing whatever had happened. It is difficult to avoid feeling quite sick.

One figure, and only one, stands out above the din, that monstrous old man in a hurry, Pope Julius II. Could he have occupied the throne of Alexander Borgia or lived but a few years more, the Renaissance might not for all its accomplishment have been a failure. Yet even Julius loses his significance when divorced from the Sistine Chapel and Raphael's Frescoes in the Vatican; and these again cannot come within the purview of Mr. Bridge.

In fact, as we read these two volumes we are looking at a tragedy from the wings, or perhaps it would be fairer to say that during this particular performance of "Hamlet,"

we are made to concentrate on the second sailor. Mr. Bridge is far too honest to have it otherwise. We are spared nothing of the massacres and outrages that marked the career of the French in Italy, of that paying off of a grudge, which we never fail to notice when the superior is in the grip of the inferior civilization. As we lay down these two volumes, we despair of the future of the human race, especially when we know what is lying ahead for us in Mr. Bridge's future volumes—the Sack of Rome, the ruin of the Renaissance, the establishment of the Inquisition, and the Austrian domination in Italy.

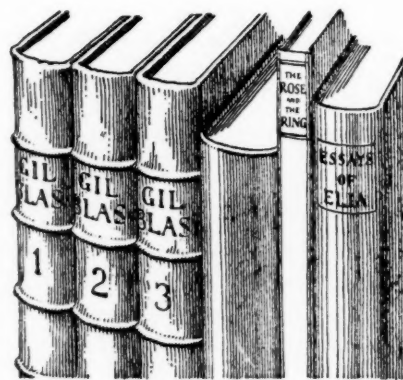
FRANCIS BIRRELL.

THE RIDDLE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The Sovereignty of the Dominions. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. (Macmillan. 18s.)

THE Imperial Conference of 1926 produced a remarkable report whose implications a representative committee of experts is now exploring. The choice of Lord Balfour as the Chairman of the 1926 Conference was, as Professor Keith remarks, "exceptionally fortunate, for the task was essentially one demanding unusual talent in devising formulæ which would command general acceptance but which would also allow each Dominion to claim that its special point of view had been given full effect." Thus the 1926 Report—the product of "the profound and subtle intellect of a master of dialectic"—sufficed to tide over the difficulties of the moment. But Professor Keith is also a man of subtle intellect and a lawyer as well. As a lecturer at the University of Edinburgh and a leading authority on constitutional law, it is his job to dissect these happy formulæ and to show in five hundred pages of masterly analysis that legal and logical contradictions are not dispelled even by compromises of practical value.

The Conference agreed that "equality of status is the root principle governing inter-Imperial relations." This, in



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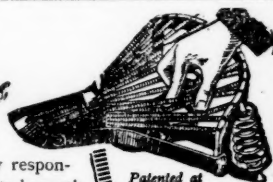
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Professor Keith's interpretation, meant that, "so far as the question of rights was concerned, every Government of the Empire was, if it so wished, entitled to exercise every function of national and international right." It meant that no problem of precedence need trouble the Empire—all are entitled to go through the door at the same time. But equality of status does not, of course, mean legal or actual equality. As the 1926 Report puts it, "the principle of equality and similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to function." Nor, as Professor Keith insists at length, does the word sovereignty apply in at all the same degree to the Dominions as it does to Great Britain. From that fact follow all the problems of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, the extra-territorial scope of Dominion legislation, the relation of Dominions to foreign States, and a hundred other knotty questions.

It is at this point that Professor Keith's purely legalistic approach becomes suspect. In view of the international status of the Dominions, is not there something to be said for discussing Imperial relations, as Professor Baker has recently done, rather from the angle of Geneva than from that of British constitutional law? On the whole, Professor Keith's book will tend to strengthen the arguments of those who feel that the whole notion of sovereignty has now become a misleading and dangerous nuisance. He mentions this unorthodox view only to dismiss it. "It is both useful and legitimate," he says, "to recognize two aspects of sovereignty, internal and external," provided that one admits at the same time that sovereignty can be divided and that "in any country both internal and external sovereignty may be shared by various authorities." Of course, the theory of sovereignty is useful to the lawyer who has been trained in the school of Dicey and can think in no other terms or framework. Similarly, there are theologians who think it useful and legitimate to retain the notion of God even while denying that he has any of his traditional attributes. Unity is the very essence of sovereignty as it is of God-head. And there is a certain danger in stretching terms beyond reason. It invites to definition where there cannot

be precision. Sovereignty has no real place in any federal Constitution, and to press its implications in the case of an unwritten and developing Constitution like that of the British Empire is to invent unnecessary trouble.

LITERATURE IN SCHOOL

The Teaching of English. By HERBERT E. PALMER. (Murray, 3s.)

MR. PALMER has recently made a considerable reputation as a poet. Until 1921, however, he was a schoolmaster, and in this little book, under the persuasion of Dr. Bridges, he has set down an account of his experiences, aims, and ideals as a teacher of English in general and of Literature in particular. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, who contributes a foreword, says that Mr. Palmer has tried experimentally in practice what he has preached, at Cambridge, in general principle; and, since that principle is so well known through Sir Arthur's many popular volumes of lectures, it is hardly necessary to do more, by way of indicating Mr. Palmer's general outlook, than to say that the two writers are in substantial agreement. They both regard literature as something more than an isolated "subject," or as a self-contained intellectual or æsthetic activity. While they allow the importance of mathematics and the physical sciences for training the young mind in precise thinking about the external world, they hold that literature is incomparably more useful as an aid to the main business of character building. Mr. Palmer, like "Q.," treads on debatable ground. At all events, he has the courage of his convictions. His qualified appreciation of the Sitwells shows that he is not impervious to modern influences. But he frankly accepts "teaching" and "uplift" as a prime function of literature, and asserts that in general intention the aims of education should be turned, not towards the counting-house, and still less towards the literary salon, but "starwards."

For the rest, his book is concerned with detail addressed primarily to other teachers, but of considerable interest to all lovers of literature. He suggests how, in various kinds of schools, the time-table may best be arranged; what books he deems most suitable for children of different ages; how grammar should be taught, not by itself, but as an integral part of the study of fine passages; and so forth. Most of his ideas strike us as being eminently sound. Yet, even if space allowed, we should not be tempted to pause over them; for we doubt whether such suggestions, excellent in themselves though they be, are really of much direct value. A teacher with Mr. Palmer's zeal will never have difficulty in devising his own methods, and will consequently stand little in need of advice. On the other hand, method without inspiration is useless in the "teaching" of literature. It is for its contagious enthusiasm that Mr. Palmer's book is mainly to be welcomed.

NAVAL DISARMAMENT

Naval Disarmament. By HUGH LATIMER. (The Royal Institution of International Affairs. 3s. 6d.)

This very useful monograph consists mainly of a clear and impartial account of previous efforts in the limitation of naval armaments, beginning with the disarmament clauses in the Treaty of Versailles, and following the story step by step through the Washington, Rome, and Geneva Conferences, the discussions of the Preparatory Commission, the Anglo-French Compromise, and the Anglo-American Conversations. A particularly useful feature is the inclusion, as appendices, of the full text of the Washington Treaty, Mr. Bridgeman's speech at the first plenary session of the Three-Power Conference, and other relevant documents and pronouncements. The monograph contains also a very good short bibliography of the subject, and some tables of the existing fleets. These are considerably less full than those given in the recent NATION Supplement, but the discussions at earlier Conferences are, of course, recorded in much greater detail. Mr. Philip Kerr contributes a Preface dealing with the broad political issues of the Conference.



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COMPANY MEETING.**WESTMINSTER BANK LIMITED**

The Annual General Meeting of the Westminster Bank was held on January 29th at the Head Office, Lothbury, London, E.C.

The Report having been read by the Secretary (Mr. F. Mytton), the Directors' Report, the Balance-Sheet, and Profit and Loss Account, were taken as read.

Mr. R. Hugh Tennant (Chairman) said: On the liabilities side of the Bank's Balance-Sheet our Money Lodged shows a decrease of over £8 millions. When telling you last year that this item had increased by over £13 millions, I stated that the end of the year frequently showed large money movements up or down of a transitory character. This year the movement happens to have been down. Our average figures, however, throughout the year were several millions higher than those of a year ago, and the employment of this additional money is reflected in our Profit and Loss Account. Our Acceptances, Endorsements, etc., are about £1 million higher.

Turning now to the Assets side of the Balance-Sheet: There is little change in the Cash in Hand and at Call. The Bills Discounted however show a diminution of about £4 millions—an ordinary market fluctuation. Our Advances to Customers are about £2 millions less than at December 31st, 1928, a small variation which does not call for comment. The item of Investments, though not substantially changed in total, shows an increase in "Other Investments" of about £1 million.

In this amount there is one item which calls for remark, viz., a holding of 6 per cent. Debentures in an English Company—the B.I. Holding Company Limited. These Debentures are secured on the value of sundry Italian investments. Our participation in this English company originated in a scheme supported by influential interests to maintain the solvency of a small bank in Italy—the Banca Italo-Britannica—whose continued weakness might have had some detrimental effect on the London Bill Market. We had only an indirect interest in this Italian venture through a shareholding in its parent company—the British Italian Banking Corporation Limited—but, in conjunction with other important financial houses, we felt constrained, in the interests of British credit, to lend our aid in support of the scheme. Our commitment in this connection has been fully provided for; and the investment—written down to the figure of £453,143—is one which we have every hope will ultimately realize a surplus on the value assigned to it.

Shareholdings in Subsidiary Companies remain at about £3 millions, a figure represented by our holdings in the Ulster Bank and the Westminster Foreign Bank. In each case we consider that the figure in the Balance-Sheet is substantially below the intrinsic value.

Our Bank Premises Account now stands in the Balance-Sheet at just over £5 millions. We have opened 43 new Branches during the year and many other Branches have been rebuilt or extended. The rebuilding of our Threadneedle Street Office and the expenditure on our Head Office rebuilding up to date, have been entirely written off, but I fear the latter will not be completed for some considerable time yet.

The profits for the past year at £2,160,000 were some £12,000 higher than last year. After reserving £1,356,000 for the payment of a dividend similar to that of 1928, we have allocated £250,000 to Bank Premises, £200,000 to the Officers Pension Fund (as in former years), and £400,000 to Contingent Fund, leaving £506,000 to be carried forward to the next account—about £45,000 less than brought in.

Before, however, leaving the affairs of our Bank to deal with the general trade position, I desire to refer briefly to the Hatry case which, owing to the perpetration of frauds and forgeries of a quite unprecedented character, has attracted much public attention.

We, among other Banks, have been victims of these frauds which were carried out by means of documents which neither Banker nor Broker nor any member of the public would ever dream of suspecting of being otherwise than genuine.

From reports which have reached me, it appears to be imagined (1) that we advanced money to the companies of the Hatry Group, not for the purposes of trade, but to enable them to indulge in gambling transactions; and (2) that no sufficient investigation was made as to the security for the advances, or that advances were made on worthless shares.

Now as to (1); in each case the money was advanced for a perfectly legitimate purpose and no suggestion was made that the advance was required for supporting the share market;

and as to (2), a thorough investigation was made, and we have documentary evidence to prove that in the absence of fraud the security was undoubted.

For the purposes of our accounts we have provided for any possible losses we may make, and thanks to the profitable character of the year's working our Contingent Fund is now larger than it was at the beginning of last year. In this connection I should state that not only have we been in the habit of making very full provisions, but we not infrequently make large recoveries of debts we have previously provided for.

I hope these remarks will enable shareholders to form a better judgment of these unfortunate transactions than was possible from the necessarily imperfect and abridged reports of the preliminary hearings.

The Chairman then reviewed at length the broader aspects of the present economic position of the country, observing that of British industry, as a whole, it might be claimed that, if no spectacular advance had been made in the past year, at least the trend had been in the right direction with the exception of the Cotton trade. Commenting in detail on the leading staple industries of the country, he remarked that the review revealed many tendencies which might justly be regarded as matters for congratulation.

LONDON AS AN INTERNATIONAL MONEY CENTRE

The course of affairs in the sphere of international finance, and the part played by London as an international monetary centre during the past very difficult year, formed a topic of such outstanding interest, not merely to the banker but to the whole world of business, that he proposed to select that as the main theme of his address. There were two main reasons why he did so. In the first place, it was no exaggeration to say that the year 1929 has been the most critical and testing period for London's position as an international money centre since the outbreak of the Great War. Secondly, the very fact of the strain placed upon London by her successful efforts to maintain that position, had given rise in certain quarters to a complaint and to a questioning—a complaint that the interests of British industrial production and trade were being sacrificed in order to maintain London's international position, and a questioning whether the maintenance of that position was sufficiently important to make such supposed sacrifice worth while.

DEMANDS FOR GOLD

The fundamental cause of the strain to which the Money markets of the world were subjected last year must be sought on the other side of the Atlantic. Mr. Tennant then commented in detail upon the persistent demands during the year under review for funds from all monetary centres to finance the speculation in America, with the repeated advances in our Bank rate. Then came the relief of the tension, the bubble of speculation in America and Europe burst, followed by the rapid reduction of the Bank rate here. Wall Street ceased to act as a magnet, and the Bank of England was quickly able to reduce its rate by successive stages to 5 per cent. Nevertheless, it was some evidence of the strain through which London passed that the Bank of England gold reserve, although only £7 millions lower on December 31st than on January 1st, 1929, had in the meantime fluctuated by as much as £34 millions, from the highest point, reached in June, to the lowest, in October.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIONAL INCOME

Having shown in detail from official sources that the contributions made by London's financial business to the national income and wealth of the country had been estimated for the years 1926, 1927, and 1928 (the latest available) at over £60 millions in our favour, he went on to indicate the various directions in which this country immensely benefited through London as an International finance centre. If we were to awaken to-morrow and find that London had ceased to function as an International centre it was clear that we should have to face a situation in which British trade and the national wealth would be very much worse off than they are at present. The figures that he had given suggested the scope of the definite losses which would be involved. Was it possible that there could result for British industry any compensating gain?

It was, of course, utterly inconceivable that London should suddenly abandon her international business, but there were some who appeared to think that those who guided our monetary and credit system should concentrate their resources more in the development of British industry, and less in international finance. But it was never quite clear what precise measures critics of the present system would suggest.

The Report and Accounts were adopted, and other formal business transacted.

REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES

THE "Political Quarterly" is a new paper, appearing for the first time this month, whose function will be to discuss social and political questions from a progressive, but not from a party, point of view. The Editorial Board consists of A. M. Carr-Saunders, G. Lowes Dickinson, T. E. Gregory, J. L. Hammond, J. M. Keynes, H. L. Laski, Kingsley Martin, W. A. Robson, and Leonard Woolf. In this number, J. M. Keynes writes on "The Question of High Wages," there is "A Political Dialogue," by G. Lowes Dickinson, and an article called "How Far Can a Labour Budget Go?" by J. Wedgwood, which was suggested by "The Limits of Insular Socialism" in THE NATION of November 30th.

The "Journal of Philosophic Studies" has an extremely interesting article by J. C. Nunns, on "The Meaning of Class Distinctions," in which he finds that "the power of status does not merely run along its direct and proper course, but with unconscious wisdom wanders off into the realm of the æsthetic and founds a kingdom among obscure feelings and sensibilities with which at first it would seem to have nothing to do and which are peculiarly powerful because so inaccessible. . . . Everyone adopts the highest standard he knows, and if it is lower than some, that is because he is unconscious of a higher. . . . People are keenly alive to social differences beneath them, but only dimly aware of those above them, and it is only in proportion as we possess taste that we feel the need for it." And elsewhere he speaks of a person who has been thrown into the company of his inferiors, returning to that of his social equals with a sensation akin to that of a chess-player who returns from a game with a beginner to one with an equal. This simile is particularly happy, and one may perhaps enlarge it and say that a snob is like a chess-player who is always trying to match himself against a better player in order to improve his game.

Richard Sickert writes in the "Fortnightly" on the Italian Exhibition at Burlington House, a chaotic, amusing article: "That the Royal Academy should have succumbed to a sporting stunt is disappointing. The English adoration for taking risks, for the fun of risks, sometimes our own, and always somebody else's, is ineradicable. But the Academy surely exists, one might hope, to say the becoming and scholarly word at the right moment. . . . Degas used to say, 'Il faut qu'un tableau ait sa place.' And in its place it should, in a civilized state, remain, with all tremulous precautions, as long as the world holds together." On the other hand, Mr. Sickert concludes that he "has to thank Lady Chamberlain for a delicious ten days, which I never thought to do when her father-in-law told me at Boughton's that he was sharpening his tomahawk for the session. . . ."

Hugh Walpole writes in the same paper on the failings of our age, in an article called "God Bless Victoria!"; there is a short story, "Dumb-Animal," by Osbert Sitwell, and John Hallett has an article illustrated with quotations on "The Poets of Soviet Russia." Altogether a very good number.

Sir Herbert Samuel writes in the "Contemporary Review" on "Empire Free Trade?"; Lindsay Rogers deals with "The United States, Parity and Neutrality," and A. Ruth Fry, in "Paradoxes and Peace," says some enlightening things: "A true system of international peace is no mere cessation of fighting. It is more like a change from one language to another—everything needs to be translated; and as there are fundamental qualities of mankind which have found their expression in the sphere of war, these need to have scope found for them in the new system of peace."

In the "Dublin Review," Christopher Hollis writes temperately and with great good sense on "Elizabeth and Mr. Strachey," and puts his finger on the flaw in "Elizabeth and Essex": "How does Mr. Strachey know . . . what thoughts passed through the mind of Cecil?" " . . . we have a right to demand of Mr. Strachey that he let us know exactly where we are, that he tell us frankly where the question is proved and where it is only very delicately begged."

The "Window" is a new quarterly magazine for "intelligent people: it is not meant to afford a secret delight to the ultra-highbrows and a vexation to their betters." It will be limited to the four issues of 1930. Eric Partridge and Bertram Ratcliffe are the editors, and the most considerable

contribution in this number is "West End," a satire by John Brophy.

The "Cornhill Magazine" has "Reminiscences of Oscar Wilde," by A. H. Cooper-Prichard, and "The Last Voyage of Ulysses," by the great L. S. Amery. "Nash's Magazine," among much other glittering fare, has "Victory," by Richard Aldington, and "Miracles in the Making," by J. B. S. Haldane.

AUCTION BRIDGE

By CALIBAN.

CALIBAN'S DUPLICATE BRIDGE CONTEST (II)

HAND No. 3.

♠ K Q 4 2
♥ K 3 2
♦ 9 7
♣ A J 9 8

♠ J 10 9 7 3
♥ Q 10 8 4
♦ A 3
♣ 10 6

Y		
A	B	
	Z	

♠ A
♥ J 9 5
♦ Q J 10 8 6 5 4
♣ K 3

♠ 8 6 5
♥ A 7 6
♦ K 2
♣ Q 7 5 4 2

THIS, at first sight a simple hand, has a snag in it. It offers, as will be seen, a strong temptation to "pre-empt" in a minor suit—a temptation which should always be resisted unless the original declarer has a hand upon which he can reasonably expect to go game; and in this case the declarer's hand holds out no such expectation.

Nevertheless, the lure of the Diamonds proved too strong at three tables out of four. At each of these tables Z opened the bidding with Three Diamonds and was left in with his call. At two tables he made Four Diamonds; at one, his bare contract. But in none did he succeed in going game.

At the third table the hand was called as follows:—

Z	A	Y	B
1 N.T.	No Bid	No Bid	2 ♣
3 ♦	No Bid	3 No Trumps	

In the upshot, Z made Five No-Trumps—a glorious climax to a very hazardous adventure. At the same time, his call of One No-Trump is hardly justifiable. If A holds (as he may well do) strong Clubs and stoppers in Hearts and Diamonds, he will leave the call alone, and it may be defeated. Or again, Y may take out his partner into Spades and find that the latter's hand is practically useless to him. An initial call of No-Trumps must show at least two certain tricks; and it ought not—unless its long suit is absolutely solid—to involve a freak suit distribution such as Z's hand exhibits. At this table, therefore, Z was lucky; for he stumbled by accident upon the right solution of his enigma.

In my opinion, the correct bidding is as follows:—

Z	A	Y	B
No Bid	No Bid	1 ♣	No Bid
2 ♦	No bid	2 N.T.	—

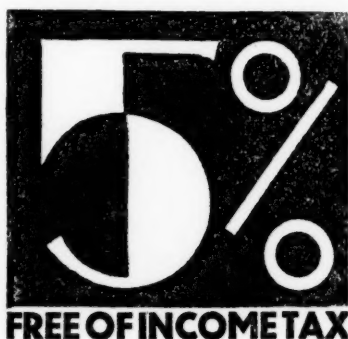
The hand is then played in No-Trumps with Z as Dummy, and, with the lead from B of a Club, ZY should make at least four by cards.

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NAVAL CONFERENCE SUPPLEMENT

The Naval Conference Supplement published in a recent issue of the NATION has met with whole-hearted approval. It is a useful guide to the problems of Naval limitation. There are just a few copies left, and these are obtainable from the publisher, 7d. post free.

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HAND No. 4.

♠ 7	♥ A K 10 9 8	♦ 10 8 6 3	♣ J 8 5
♠ 6 4 3 2	♥ Q J 2	♦ 9 7 5	♣ 9 6 4

♠ K Q J	♥ 7 6 5 4 3	♦ K Q	♣ K Q 2
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♠ A 10 9 8 5	♥ None	♦ A J 4 2	♣ A 10 7 3
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Y	B
A	Z

This is an interesting hand—and one which had occurred in actual play a few days before the contest.

At three tables out of four Z opened the bidding with a Spade, which I believe to be the correct bid. At two of these tables A called Two Hearts; Y supported his partner's Spade; B called Four Hearts; and Z proceeded to Four Spades. The Four-Spade contract was doubled at one table and defeated at both, by two and three tricks respectively. Two tricks are, I think, as many as the declarer should lose.

To return to the bidding. In my judgment, Y's call of Two Spades over A's Two Hearts is not justified. He has, it is true, four of his partner's trumps; but he has no short suit, and he has no quick tricks; the one declaration in which his hand is worth a trick is that which has been made by his opponents.

Now for the other tables. At one Z opened with Two Spades (which does not seem to me defensible); A over-called with Three Hearts—again barely justified—and secured the contract. At the fourth table Z opened with a Spade; A passed (!); Y passed; and B called One No-Trump. There is something, but not much, to be said for this call, and B was lucky to be left in with it; I think Z should have doubled it with a view to discovering whether Y could not produce something in the way of a second suit.

The best bidding of the hand is probably as follows: Z, One Spade; A, Two Hearts; Y, No Bid; B, Three Hearts. AB should make Three Hearts, as they did at the one table where the hand was played at this declaration.

INSURANCE NOTES

"A WORD TO THE INVESTOR"

A LEADING Scottish insurance company suggests by means of its new leaflet ("A Word to the Investor") that temporary life assurance will help considerably to put right the position of an investor's personal balance-sheet. The investor has been saving in part for the welfare of his family in the event of his death—the acute depreciation of Stock Exchange securities makes the provision he has made much less than he hoped for, and thus there is a real need for some further financial aid should he die in the next few months.

Taking an example in the hypothetical case of a man who will be forty-two years next birthday, and who thought a little while ago that his investments would realize twenty thousand pounds at any time, depreciation in values may well have brought the market figure down to fifteen thousand to-day, and thus the protection he will leave is calculated to be five thousand below the normal figure on which he has been relying. If we may further assume that the next six months is the critical period, and that thereafter he may count on values returning to an average standard, the company in question is willing to put his balance-sheet right in the event of his death during the six months for the small cost of £30. In other words, the premium for a temporary assurance of five thousand pounds would be the figure we have quoted.

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35	4 4	6 10	10 8	14 6
40	4 5	7 3	11 6	15 9
45	4 8	8 0	13 0	18 0
50	5 0	8 11	14 9	20 8

DISABILITY BENEFIT

Another company (Law Union and Rock) has recently issued a special prospectus bearing the title, "Life Lines," in which is offered a most attractive form of benefit for total disability, a benefit which seems to go a step further than most of those at present available.

A man whose income is dependent on his own exertions and who has assured his life for a substantial sum may be overtaken by an accident or an illness which will so affect him financially as to deprive him of the power to maintain payment of his premiums. Thus, at this time of all others, when its value as a family provision is most apparent, it may be impossible for him to keep the policy in force. This risk can be covered at a very small cost. Under the form of policy now issued the following important privilege is granted: Should the life assured become totally incapacitated for business by accident or illness when under sixty-five years of age for a continuous period of no less than two months, no premium will be charged for the period of such incapacity, and the policy will notwithstanding be kept in full force. If the incapacity should be permanent, the policy will be free from all future payments of premium, and he will be as fully entitled to all the benefits of the contract as if the premiums were payable.

The effect of this provision in a policy is apparent. Any policy-holder under the age of sixty-five who should meet with accident or illness which prevents him from working for a period of two months, three months, or longer, will secure a rebate for that period from his annual premium. Furthermore, if the disability proves to be permanent he will have no further premiums to pay, but the policy will still be in full force and effect just as though he were continuing his payments thereon.

The prospectus quotes the rates for whole life, limited payments, ten, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five years, and endowment assurances payable at death or age fifty, fifty-five, sixty, or sixty-five, both with and without profits, for policies of £500, male lives. A small addition to the standard premium rates has been made to cover the cost of the special disability benefit offered.

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FINANCIAL SECTION

THE WEEK IN THE CITY

INDIA AND AUSTRALIA—CHINESE LOANS—AFRICAN AND EASTERN

THE City has really little complaint to make of the Labour Government. If Mr. Tom Shaw once frightened for a few hours some holders of War Loan—for which offence he was afterwards snubbed by Mr. Snowden—the Secretary of State for India has at any rate done something to reassure holders of India Government Loans. In a letter which he authorized for publication this week he stated that while India Government stocks were not guaranteed by the British Treasury, the Labour Government had no intention of allowing a state of things to arise in India in which repudiation of debt could become a practical possibility. On this India stocks recovered from 2 to 4 points and can no longer be bought to yield 6 per cent. (except India 4½ per cent. 1950-55 on redemption). In contrast, Australian Government stocks have fallen to prices which allow yields up to 6½ per cent. The selling of these stocks has been prompted by the widening of the discount on the Australian pound—bankers' rates for demand drafts on Australia are now £96½-£97½ per £100—and the continued fall in wool prices. There is no doubt that Australia is going through a period of severe economic stress, partly because the producers of its primary products are faced with high production costs and low selling prices and partly because the country is being forced to borrow less from overseas, in other words, to deflate. We have in the past criticized the unsound features of Australian finance, but we cannot conceive that Australia will be allowed to default on its interest payments as long as the Commonwealth Government is trying its best to put its financial house in order. There is no need for holders of Australian stocks to get in a panic.

An American on making some calls in Wall Street after the slump wrote to an English friend as follows: "The battle may be over, but the dead are not yet removed." Nevertheless, the financiers are busy, and commendable progress has been made in the work of washing out traces of the slaughter in the stocks of investment trusts. No other stocks were so exposed to liquidation and short selling. Just as their market prices had soared when their portfolios of investments were swelling daily in paper values, so they collapsed when the paper value of their portfolios began shrinking. The following figures tell their own tale:—

	Sponsor	High 1929	Low 1929	Present
Goldman Sachs	Goldman Sachs	121	38½	35½
United Corporation	J. P. Morgan	75½	19	34½
Tri-Continental	J. & W. Seligman	57	10	13½
U.S. & Foreign	Dillon, Read	72	17½	24

The traces of slaughter in this market are being gradually removed by merging the offspring with the parent companies, and in some cases by amalgamating the half-alive with the half-dead. For example, Tri-Continental has amalgamated with Tri-Continental Allied, while the assets value of Goldman Sachs subsidiaries has been restored by "donations" from their sponsors. The shrewd investor should be on the look out for bargains in this stricken field. Some stocks are bound to be forced down to prices below their break-up value. Thus United Corporation \$3 preferred stock is selling at 49, to yield 6.12 per cent., while the 6 per cent. preferred stock of the consolidated Tri-Continental is quoted at 81 (cum warrants), to yield 7.41 per cent., although its break-up value a month ago was 172.

Chinese Government loans are not everybody's speculation. The difficulty of keeping touch with the march and countermarch of Chinese generals across the political field has driven the speculative public out of its positions in this market. Unless you are an official in the Chinese administrative services or a member of the Cocoa Tree Club or one who likes to distinguish between the names of Chinese generals, you do not ordinarily buy Chinese loans. There

are three loans—the 4 per cent. of 1895, the 5 per cent. of 1896, and the 4½ per cent. of 1898—which are secured directly, in the order named, on the Maritime Customs revenues, and there is another—the 5 per cent. of 1913—which is secured, subject to prior charges, on the surplus of the Customs and the surplus of the salt tax. The Maritime Customs are still being collected by foreign officials under the direction of the Inspector-General who has to be a British subject as long as British trade in the treaty ports exceeds that of any other nation. In addition to the import and export duties collected at treaty ports, the Customs service is charged with the collection of Customs on coastwise trade in foreign built bottoms. It will surprise most readers to hear that the Maritime Customs revenues in 1929 exceeded those of 1928 by about 70 per cent. :—

	CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS Revenue in Haikwan Taels	Average Rate of Exchange	Sterling Equivalent
1928	82,382,000	2s. 11 1-16d.	£12,028,000
1929	132,760,000	2s. 7 13-16d.	£20,428,000

This large increase in the 1929 revenue is due to the higher tariff imposed in February, 1929. The service of the four loans we have mentioned was covered on the 1929 revenues over eleven times. The next table shows the dates of redemption and the yields obtainable at present market prices :—

	Annual Drawings in	Final Redn. in	Present Price	Flat Yields	Redn. Yields
China 4% 1895	March	July 1931	96½	£4 2 9	£6 8 0
China 5% 1896	February	April 1932	99½	5 2 3	6 2 6
China 4½% 1898	January	March 1943	70*	5 16 3	7 4 0*
China 5% 1913	April	July 1960	61	8 5 0	8 14 6†

* Ex drawings. † for £8 ss. 9d. on average life of 8 years.
‡ for £9 7s. 6d. on average life of 20 years.

It will be seen that the 4 per cent. 1895 loan is virtually commercial paper. Indeed its repayment at par in July, 1931, is better than an ordinary commercial "risk." About £1,571,726 worth of this loan is outstanding, and about £750,000 is available for the sinking fund which operates by drawings in March. The chances of being drawn at par in March this year are, therefore, one in two. The buyer of 4 per cent. 1895 stock at 96½ which is drawn in March and repaid in July makes a profit at the rate of £11 9s. per cent. per annum. There is £2,633,250 worth of the 5 per cent. 1896 loan outstanding, and the amount available for the drawings next month is £835,500, so that the chances of being drawn this year are about one in three. There is £8,538,425 of the 4½ per cent. 1898 loan outstanding, and £23,326,840 of the 5 per cent. 1913, the amounts available for the sinking fund this year being £451,000 and £329,660 respectively. The first two loans should appeal to the expert speculative investor.

We have on former occasions referred to African and Eastern Trade Corporation which is now merged with the Niger Company in United Africa. Now that Unilevers have thrown into this combine their West African margarine interests we cannot argue that United Africa is starting its career with too heavy a capitalization at £15,734,000, seeing that there is no information about the Margarine earnings. The African and Eastern will hold £7,100,000 of this capital—it transferred assets which the accountants valued at £7,174,447—so that it would appear that the preference capital of £3,366,165 of African and Eastern is amply covered. It is worth the investor's while to consider the 6 per cent. "B" preference shares of African and Eastern, which can be bought at about 17s. 6d. The arrears of dividends on these shares are to be paid for the six months to December 31st, 1928, out of the profits of £74,600 which were declared for the seven months to May 1st, 1929 (after which the merger with the Niger Company takes effect). Allowing also for the 1929 arrears of dividends in the price, the 6 per cent. "B" preference shares can be bought to yield 7½ per cent., assuming that dividends are to be resumed.

COMPANY MEETING.

THE NATIONAL MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

The 100th Annual General Meeting of the National Mutual Life Assurance Society was held, on Wednesday, at 39, King Street, Cheapside, London, E.C.

MR. J. M. KEYNES, C.B. (Chairman of the Society), presiding, said: We are celebrating to-day the completion of the hundredth year of the business life of our Society.

Our total trading profits for the year, exclusive of appreciation or depreciation on investments, have amounted to £149,403, as compared with £131,890 last year. This improvement has been partly due to the fact that the average gross rate of interest earned on our funds, excluding reversions, is no less than 5s. per cent. higher than last year, and has reached the high figure of 5½ per cent. The increase as compared with previous years results in part from our having carried out the policy, which I have announced at previous annual meetings, of a substantial change over of investments in British Government securities to other investments, mainly higher yielding fixed-interest securities. But it is also in large degree attributable to the depreciation in the capital value of our securities which we have suffered during the past year in common with all other investment bodies. To this I shall return in detail in a moment. The full effect of this depreciation on the rate of interest has been only partly felt in the year 1929, and it is possible therefore that there may be a further increase in the rate to report next year. On the other hand, any future capital gains which we may obtain as the result of the appreciation of our investments will, of course, operate to reduce the rate of interest. Nor is it wise, in my judgment, to be too much influenced in pursuing an investment policy by the desire to obtain as high a current yield as possible, since those investments which are most satisfactory in the long run are often those which yield a comparatively low running income at the moment. It must not, therefore, be considered necessarily a sign of retrogression if the rise in the rate of interest earned, which I have now reported to you for a number of years in succession, is ultimately reversed. It should also be borne in mind, when our results are being compared with those of other Offices which do not write the value of their investments up and down in accordance with their market value, that the fluctuations in interest earnings will appear in our results more obviously than in theirs, though the underlying facts may be the same.

The most important event of the year, however, on the investment side has, of course, been the serious fall in the general level of investment values; the most important movement, indeed, which has taken place since 1921. For a considerable number of years we have shown an unbroken series of gains through the appreciation in the capital value of our Stock Exchange securities. I have repeatedly stated in my annual speeches that this source of profit could not be regarded as a reliable one year by year, and I have warned you that the time was sure to come when a general movement of investment values in a downward direction would wipe out some part of our previous gains. For this reason we have hitherto distributed to our members no part whatever of our profits from capital appreciation, holding the view that any distributions made out of this source of profit should be carefully averaged over a period of time. We have in fact now decided to make a special distribution to With-Profit policyholders in respect of our profits through capital appreciation over the last decade, partly because we think that the time has come for such a distribution, and partly as a suitable celebration of our Centenary Year. It is, I think, in some respects fortunate that the set-back in the investment market which was bound to come some day should have materialized before we had actually made our distribution of capital profits, for it enables us to do so whilst taking into account one bad year along with many good ones, and so to obtain an average which is more likely to be typical of what can be achieved in the long run, than a distribution would have been which was based on an unbroken succession of upward movements.

Turning to the actual amount of the depreciation we have suffered, I think that we have, on the whole, every reason for moderate satisfaction that our losses are not much larger. The capital value of our Fund has depreciated by a sum of £317,420, or approximately 6 per cent. of its mean value during the year. Taken by itself this is a substantial loss. But viewed in relation to our previous capital gains it leaves us in a position of immense financial strength; for after writing down our securities to their value on December 31st last we are still strong enough to divide out of the remaining balance of capital appreciation the large centennial bonus to which I shall come in a moment, and to carry forward against future contingencies the sum of £386,000. But the main test in judging the success or otherwise of our investment policy during the past year must be made on the basis of a comparison with the decline of investment values generally. The indexes compiled by the Financial Press and other authorities indicate that practically every class of investment securities has suffered a severe setback during 1929. For example, if the whole of our funds had been invested

in long-dated British Government securities, we should have suffered a depreciation of 5 to 6 per cent. as compared with an actual figure of 6 per cent. on our funds as a whole, and 8 per cent. on our Stock Exchange securities. I should estimate that non-gilt-edged fixed-interest securities must have fallen on the average by something like 10 per cent., whilst investments in Industrial Ordinary Shares have fallen from 20 to 30 per cent. in value according to the particular selection made by different authorities. In spite, therefore, of our well-known policy of investing in Ordinary Shares to a greater extent than the majority of Insurance Offices, we have in a year in which Ordinary Shares have suffered a quite exceptional depreciation managed to get through with a percentage of loss which is not only far below the fall in Ordinary Shares generally, but is much less than the amount of depreciation of non-gilt-edged fixed-interest securities, and is only a little greater than has been suffered by long-dated British Government securities. I am not sure that, rightly viewed, this does not represent a greater measure of success for the long run prospects of our general policy than the results of some former years which have looked much better. The moral is that no body which is responsible for the investment of large sums of money can hope to be immune from the major movements of the market as a whole, whether upwards or downwards, and we shall be very content if in the long run we can earn more appreciation than the average on the upswings and lose less on the downswings—which we have undoubtedly succeeded in doing in the past year. After writing off the whole of last year's depreciation we have earned annually a total return on our assets (from interest and capital appreciation of nearly 6½ per cent. free of income tax on the average of the past nine years.

For the past year we are repeating, as you have already been informed, the same rate of bonus as in the two previous years for the Old Series of policies, and giving a bonus of 15s. per cent. compound to the New Series. The trading profits of the year are £21,512 in excess of the cost of this bonus. In addition, we are taking the opportunity of our centenary to distribute to With-Profit policyholders an important portion of that part of the accumulated profits from the appreciation of our investments which have arisen during the past decade, and have not been distributed in the annual bonuses declared during this period. In accordance with my declaration last year, members who have entered the Society since 1928 are excluded from participation, and other members are to share on a sliding scale according to the date at which they took out their policies. For example, policies taken out in 1920 will receive a special reversionary bonus at the rate of 70s. per £100 sum assured, policies taken out in 1910 will receive a bonus of 145s. per cent., and policies dating from 1900 or previously will receive the handsome addition of 200s. per £100 sum assured.

It has been my custom at these Annual Meetings to cast an inquiring eye on the future. I pointed out last year that the disparity of movement between prices and wages since 1924 had faced employers with the task of increasing efficiency by 16 per cent. if they were to hold their own. I ventured to guess that efficiency was perhaps increasing at the rate of 1½ per cent. per annum, with the result that they might have reduced their relative disadvantage from 16 per cent. to 10 per cent. in the four years ending in 1928. Unfortunately, the course of events during 1929 has further aggravated their problem instead of mitigating it; for prices have fallen by a further 4.5 per cent. whilst wages are unchanged. Moreover, whilst the difficulties in which the return to gold involved our own industries in the period after 1924 were mainly local to this country, the fall in the wholesale prices of raw materials has now taken on the character of a world-wide disaster. The storm centres are to be found to-day, in my judgment, neither in Great Britain nor in the United States, but in the great producers of raw materials overseas. For these areas are being reduced to very grievous distress by the combined circumstances of the fall in the prices of their chief products and the difficulty of obtaining funds on the International Loan Market.

Between 1921 and 1924 the reaction from the great post-war inflation was practically completed. But since 1924 our Wholesale Index Number has fallen by a further 20 per cent. This rate of fall lasting over a period of four or five years, otherwise than as a reaction from an immediately preceding inflation, is, I believe, unparalleled in modern economic history. The consequences have already reached the dimensions of a first-class disaster. Nor is it by any means certain that a further movement in the same direction is going to be avoided.

I believe that these events, so inimical to the wealth and happiness of the whole world, are avoidable and remediable. But they are to be attributed to the want of collective wisdom on the part of the Central Banking Authorities of the world taken together, and are not now wholly remediable by the isolated action of any single country. The internecine struggle for gold-stocks must cease and the market rates for money in the leading financial centres of the world must be reduced to a really low figure (which presents no difficulties if they all move together)—in the neighbourhood of (say) 3 per cent.—and must remain there for some time, before it is reasonable to expect a recovery of enterprise and confidence throughout the world and the general enjoyment of that measure of prosperity which the ever-increasing achievements of scientific and business technique would make possible, if only the government, or want of government, in international monetary affairs would at last permit.

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CHURCH EDUCATION CORPORATION.—Uplands School, St. Leonards-on-Sea. Two Open Scholarships of £10 a year will be offered on the result of an examination to be held on May 6th, to girls over 12 and under 14 on the 31st July, 1930. The Council will give, if necessary, additional grants of the value of £30 to £40 a year. Entries before March 31st. Apply to Head Mistress.

LEIGHTON PARK SCHOOL, READING.—Scholarships. An examination for several Scholarships open to members of the Society of Friends and others, will take place in February next. Leighton Park is a public school under the management of the Society of Friends. For full particulars and entry forms for these scholarships apply to the Headmaster.

APPOINTMENTS VACANT.

LONDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES UNION CATALOGUE COMMITTEE.

THE Services of two ASSISTANT CATALOGUERS are required. Preference will be given to candidates holding a professional certificate for cataloguing. The salary is £150 per annum, plus travelling expenses. The positions are temporary, but subject to satisfactory service will be tenable for at least three years. Applications, which should be in candidates' own handwriting, together with not more than two testimonials, should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, London Public Libraries Union Catalogue Committee, c/o The Central Library for Students, Galen Place, Bury Street, W.C.1. not later than February 28th, 1930.

APPOINTMENTS VACANT—(continued).

URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL OF HENDON.

LIBRARY STAFF APPOINTMENTS.

THE above Council invite applications for the following appointments in the Public Libraries Department:—

TWO JUNIOR ASSISTANTS (male or female). Candidates must not be over 18 years of age, and must possess Matriculation or Oxford or Cambridge Senior Local, or other recognised certificate of equal standard, and will be required to be on probation for a period of three months. Salary on the following scale:—

Age 16. £60 per annum.

Age 17. £70 per annum.

Age 18. £80 per annum, rising by annual increments of £15 to £125 per annum.

The above appointments will, as from the age of 18 years, be subject to the provisions of the Local Government and Other Officers (Superannuation) Act, 1922. The successful candidates will be required to pass a medical examination.

Applications, stating age and qualifications, by examination, together with copies of not more than three testimonials, should be sent to the undersigned not later than February 8th, 1930.

Envelopes must be endorsed "Junior Assistant."

Canvassing either directly or indirectly will be deemed a disqualification.

Dated this 21st day of January, 1930.

LEONARD WORDEN,

Clerk to the Council.

Town Hall,
Hendon, N.W.4.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH.

APPLICATIONS are invited for the following posts:—

(1) PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH.

Salary.—£650 by annual increments of £25 to £900.

Transport.—£50 will be allowed for transport expenses subject to proportionate refund in the event of resignation prior to completion of contract.

(2) LECTURER IN PHYSIOLOGY.

Salary.—£450 by annual increments of £25 to £500.

Transport.—£40 will be allowed for transport expenses subject to proportionate refund in the event of resignation prior to completion of contract.

Applications and copies of testimonials should be lodged with the Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2 (from whom forms of application and further particulars may be obtained), by February 15th, 1930.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

APPLICATIONS are invited for the post of PROFESSOR in the Department of CLASSICS.

SALARY.—£900 per annum.

QUALIFICATIONS.—Normally under 35 years of age. Responsible mainly for the work in Latin.

Applicants should also state any special qualifications for teaching:—

(a) Classical Philology.

(b) Greek and Roman Philosophy.

(c) Ancient History.

TRANSPORT.—£75 will be allowed for voyage subject to proportionate refund in the event of resignation prior to completion of the contract.

Applications and copies of testimonials (eight copies of each) should be lodged with the Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2 (from whom Forms of Application and further particulars may be obtained), by February 15th, 1930.

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF PADDINGTON.

APPOINTMENT OF MALE CHIEF ASSISTANT, PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

THE COUNCIL invite applications for the appointment of a MALE CHIEF ASSISTANT at the Public Libraries, at a commencing salary of £225 per annum. Candidates must be of good education and not less than 21 nor more than 30 years of age. Preference will be given to applicants experienced in the administration of an up-to-date Public Library service, and possessing Certificates of the Library Association or Diploma of the School of Librarianship. The candidate selected will be required to produce a certificate of birth, pass an examination by the Council's Medical Examiner, devote the whole of his time to the duties of his office, and contribute to the Council's Superannuation scheme. Application must be made on the official form, which will be forwarded on receipt of a stamped addressed foolscap envelope, and be delivered here with copies of not more than three recent testimonials not later than first post on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8th, 1930.

Canvassing, either directly or indirectly, will disqualify.

W. F. ABBISS, Town Clerk.

Town Hall,
Paddington, W.2.
January 28th, 1930.

CORNWALL EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

FOWEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL (MIXED).

WANTED, to commence duty on the 4th March next, Graduate Assistant Master, to teach History throughout the School, and General Subjects (chiefly English and Mathematics) to lower Forms. Must be qualified to take charge of Boys' Physical Exercises, and to assist with Games.

Salary in accordance with Burnham Award for Secondary Schools. Forms of application, which should be returned not later than February 14th, may be obtained by forwarding a stamped and addressed foolscap envelope to the Head Master, Grammar School, Fowey.

F. R. PASCOE,
Secretary for Education.

Education Department,
County Hall, Truro.
January 24th, 1930.

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